

Culture ♦ Community ♦ Critique ♦ Ecology ♦ Sexuality ♦ Humor

Volume 3, Number 2

# Alternative Press REVIEW

**YOUR GUIDE BEYOND THE MAINSTREAM**

## **INSIDE:**

**Heterosexual Love—  
Queer Families**

Annalee Newitz

**Grandpa Munster Interview**

**Frequencies of Resistance:  
The Rise of Free Radio**

Ron Sakolsky

**The Wrong Stuff:  
Nukes in Space**

Karl Grossman

**Partners in Censorship:  
Fox & Monsanto**

Sheldon Rampton & John Stauber

**Zine &**

**Magazine**

**Reviews!**

Display until April 20, 1999



\$4.95 US / \$5.50 Canada



Collage by Phillip Lollar



## EDITORIAL

# Impeaching the Media



he spectacle of presidential impeachment has captivated the mainstream media machine in the U.S., if not all its consumers. But what is the message that is being conveyed by this impeachment process? Is it that the U.S. president is not above the law? That the president must obey the Constitution? That the president cannot get away with lying to or misleading the North American public over matters of grave import to the nation?

Hardly.

In fact, the Congress, the U.S. judiciary, the mainstream media, and President Clinton all stand firmly in mutual solidarity on the critical importance of official governmental prevarication, deception and censorship concerning a vast number of issues in fields of discourse from war, domestic surveillance and police murder to corporate control of legislation, the real effects of NAFTA and GATT on North American workers, and the dangers of both the nuclear power industry & the launch of nuclear space probes.

What's really happening? Despite the fact that President Clinton has been a better salesman for the neoliberal agenda than the Republican-controlled Congress, there is so much hatred of Bill and Hillary Clinton throughout its ranks that the Republicans have been willing to sacrifice just about anything else in their efforts to drive Clinton from power. Republican efforts to engineer what could amount to a "coup by Special Prosecutor" have often even taken precedence over the Republican version of the neoliberal agenda of "free trade" (for corporations, not for the vast public), the "down-sizing" or elimination of the social welfare system (to produce a more compliant work force), and the criminalization & suppression of any social resistance.

Our current situation results from a convergence of many forces. But the spectacle of House impeachment hearings and a Senate trial over a set of charges that range from trivial to petty in political and Constitutional content could never have come to pass without the active complicity of the major players in the national media.

It has been demonstrated all along in opinion poll after poll that the majority of the U.S. population has had no desire to follow the process through which Special Prosecutor Kenneth Starr has pursued Bill and Hillary Clinton through \$40 million worth of investigations—from the original, trumped-up Whitewater charges to the embarrassingly opportunistic sexual life of the President. And it is impossible to believe that the entire process could ever have continued

and evolved through years of dead-ends and ludicrous fantasies (for example, the much-alleged but always evidenceless charges that Vincent Foster was murdered) without mainstream media encouragement and collusion (the latter especially involving leaks from the Special Prosecutor and his personnel).

Yet, amazingly, all this has happened during the same period in which President Clinton *has* committed crimes of enormous scope and of genuinely Constitutional import with barely a single official voice being raised in opposition.

The problem is that the U.S. Congress, the judiciary, the president and the mass media are all in perfect *agreement* that these genuine crimes—both potentially impeachable offenses and international war crimes—must be defended, extended and celebrated, rather than investigated, publicized and tried.

By any rational interpretation of Constitutional law, President Clinton's repeated military attacks on Iraq, as well as his bombings of Afghanistan and the pharmaceutical plant in Sudan, are impeachable offenses. They violate the Constitutional provision giving the U.S. Congress the sole power to declare war (unless there is a direct attack on the U.S.). And they violate the War Powers Resolution of 1973 (meant to prevent undeclared wars like that in Vietnam) as well.

They also indisputably constitute international war crimes. The U.S. never obtained U.N. Security Council approval for its unilateral decisions to bomb Iraq for allegedly violating the U.N. inspection program. Nor did the U.S. have any international legal standing to bomb Afghanistan or Sudan. In fact all of these military actions constitute state terrorist attacks more lethal and more dangerous in their potential effects than the vast majority of actions ever labeled "terrorist" by the mainstream media.

If the mass media were to invest as much energy and manpower in the investigation of these obvious and really-existing crimes—both as impeachable offenses and as international war crimes—as they have in the scandal-mongering of the Paula Jones and Monica Lewinsky affairs, the U.S. public *would* be calling for the impeachment of President Clinton. And maybe the world community would be calling for his trial in an international court.

But such a scenario is impossible in reality because the mainstream media do not exist to serve the public, but to serve the massive corporate and state power which corrupts our world.

**Jason McQuinn, Editor**





# ALTERNATIVE PRESS REVIEW

# CONTENTS

*Your Guide Beyond  
the Mainstream*

## DEPARTMENTS

- 4 ALTERNATIVE PRESS NOTES
- 5 LETTERS
- 6 MICRO RADIO NEWS
- 7 BITS & PIECES

## SELECTIONS

- 14 THEORY OF COERCION:  
The CIA's Secret Manual  
of Coercive Questioning  
(*InTERRORgation*)
- 16 FREE SOFTWARE, ANYONE?  
LINUX, GNU and the  
Free Software Movement  
(*Eat the State*)
- 21 FOX & MONSANTO:  
Twisting the News  
to Hide the Truth  
([www.foxbgh.com](http://www.foxbgh.com))

## REVIEWS

- 52 ALTERNATIVE PRESS  
MAGAZINES & ZINES
- 61 MUSIC REVIEWS
- 64 BOOK REVIEWS



Grandpa Munster in his laboratory.

- 18 Partners in Censorship: Monsanto and Fox  
*by Sheldon Rampton & John Stauber*  
How those who own the media control what the public knows.  
Reprinted from *PR Watch*.
- 23 Heterosexual Love: Queer Families  
*by Annalee Newitz*  
Hollywood attempts to fit gays into traditional family roles.  
Reprinted from *Bad Subjects*.
- 29 An Interview with Al Lewis  
*by Christian Parenti*  
The many faces of Grandpa Munster.  
Reprinted from *The Shadow*.
- 37 Frequencies of Resistance  
*by Ron Sakolsky*  
The rise of the Free Radio Movement.  
Reprinted from *Seizing the Airwaves: A Free Radio Handbook*.
- 44 The Wrong Stuff: Nukes in Space  
*by Karl Grossman*  
Media censorship, media deception, media collusion.  
From *The Wrong Stuff: The Space Program's Nuclear Threat to Our Planet*.



# ALTERNATIVE PRESS

## Review

Volume 3, Number 2

Winter 1998-9

ISSN 1072-7299

Press run: 7,800

Printed in USA

PUBLISHED BY

A.A.L. Press

POB 4710

Arlington, VA 22204-4710

EDITORS

Jason McQuinn

Chuck Munson

Tom Wheeler

CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS

Freddie Baer, San Francisco, CA

Mr. Fish, San Francisco, CA

A. Hacker, Columbia, MO

Johann Humyn Being, San Francisco

James Koehnline, Seattle, WA

Phillip Lollar, San Francisco, CA

Mark Neville, Seattle, WA

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Allan Antliff, Toronto, Ontario

Michael William, Montréal, Québec

John Zerzan, Eugene, OR

CONTRIBUTORS THIS ISSUE

Len Bracken • Derf • *Eat the State* •

John Elliston • Chris Flash • Karl

Grossman • Annalee Newitz • Nina

Paley • Sheldon Rampton • Rob Los

Ricos • Tom Roberts • Ron Sakolsky •

Harvey Schwadron • Jim Siergey •

John Stauber • Tom Tomorrow • Jesse

Walker • Steve Wilson

ADVERTISING

Rate cards on request.

Tom Wheeler: 703-553-2945

The views expressed in the material published in *Alternative Press Review* do not necessarily reflect the views of A.A.L. Press, or those of the editorial & production staff.

Anticopyright—Original material published in *Alternative Press Review* may be reprinted at will for non-profit purposes, except in the case of articles, graphics and other contributions copyrighted by their creators or previous publishers, in which case all rights are reserved.

*Alternative Press Review* is indexed in Access: The Supplementary Index to Periodicals, the *Alternative Press Index* and in the *Book Review Index*.

"The whirligig of time has its revenges."

—B.A.G. Fuller

## Alternative Press Notes

Welcome to another new *Alternative Press Review*! With this issue there are several important changes of note.

Beginning with the Winter issue you're now reading, a new editorial and production collective has begun publishing *APR*. Tom Wheeler and Chuck Munson, along with myself—the original editor—Jason McQuinn, have formed a new press in Arlington, Virginia. The new press, Arlington Alternative Library Press (A.A.L. Press), will not only continue publishing this magazine, but work to enlarge its scope, audience and distribution.

In the relative vacuum of radical periodical publishing in North America, we intend to produce a lively magazine which will continue to expose the hidden agendas—and frequent journalistic incompetence—of the mainstream media, while promoting the liberatory aspects of alternative media. But we also intend to publish it with more pages, more frequently, and get it into the hands of many more

people. After all, anyone can publish an alternative magazine. The real trick is to get it into a significant number of readers' hands.

Unfortunately, this is the third issue of *APR* in which the magazine has been reduced to 68 pages. But we *do* intend to return to our original 84-page format with the next. And after two years of paltry output, we now hope to resume a genuinely quarterly schedule for 1999.

It's still under construction, but there's enough content in place to also announce the new *Alternative Press Review* web site: <http://flag.blackened.net/apr/index.html>

In coming months we hope to put on-line many more articles and selections from back issues. Check out the site and let us know if you have any suggestions for improving the site as it grows.

Our next issue, for Spring 1999, should be out by mid-April. In the meantime, enjoy your reading and thanks for your continuing support!

—Jason McQuinn, Co-Editor

*Alternative Press Review* is an independent not-for-profit quarterly publication of A.A.L. Press.

### Subscriptions

Regular Subscriptions are \$16/year by third class mail and \$32/two years.

First class subscriptions are \$22/year and \$44/two years.

International subscriptions are \$24/year by surface mail and \$48/two years.

International airmail subscriptions are \$32/year and \$64/two years

Subscriptions for prisoners are \$8/year by third class & \$12/year internationally by surface mail.

### Sample copies and back issues

Sample copies of the current issue or copies of back issues are available for \$6.00 each (\$7.00 each by first class mail).

Make your check or money order to: A.A.L. Press and send it to; POB 4710, Arlington, VA 22204-4710. All subscriptions are in U.S. dollars. Checks and money orders in other currencies must add the equivalent to US \$15 for conversion. Allow two to four weeks for first class and airmail delivery. Allow two to four months for third class delivery. Subscriptions are guaranteed. If you are not completely satisfied at any point the remainder of your subscription will be refunded on request.

Please keep in mind that if you move to a new

address, you need to notify us at least 6 weeks before your address changes in order to help insure that copies mailed actually reach you. The post office does not forward magazines.

### Distribution

Bulk copies of *Alternative Press Review* are available for resale from several wholesale distributors. Contact us for a list of distributors, or information on ordering direct from the publisher.

### Submissions

Please enclose an adequate-sized self-addressed, stamped envelope with all articles, photos, and graphic art if you want it returned, or a 33¢ SASE if you want to receive a response. All other unsolicited submissions become the property of A.A.L. Press. We prefer that written submissions be typed and double-spaced; ASCII, Wordperfect or Word format by email or on 3.5" diskettes are encouraged. Please do not send original artwork, send copies.

*Alternative Press Review* may edit submissions for grammar and style, although we always try to keep any editing to an absolute minimum.

Please address all subscriptions, contributions, submissions and letters to: A.A.L. Press, POB 4710, Arlington, VA. 22204-4710, U.S.A., or: J. McQuinn: [jmcquinn@mail.coin.missouri.edu](mailto:jmcquinn@mail.coin.missouri.edu) C. Munson: [chuck@tao.ca](mailto:chuck@tao.ca) T. Wheeler: [twbounds@erols.com](mailto:twbounds@erols.com)



## Letters are welcome!

As many letters to *Alternative Press Review*—concerning appropriate topics of potential interest to readers—will be published as is possible given the space limitations of this format. All letters should be no more than one typed, double-spaced page (no longer than 600 words). For anything of greater length, please query first to see if there is any chance we will be able to publish it. Letters will include the writer's name, city and state, province or country, unless otherwise requested. Send all letters to *Alternative Press Review*, c/o A.A.L. Press, POB 4710, Arlington, VA 22204-4710.

## Great work

Dear Jason McQuinn

Someone's been sending me free issues of *APR* for years now and I love them. Now I can finally afford to subscribe for real.

Keep up the great work.

*APR* relieves my sense of alienation & gives me inspiration & comfort.

Yours,  
Nina Paley  
San Francisco, CA

*Editor's Note: Nina Paley is a comic artist whose work appeared in APR Vol.1, #4. The comic on this page is from her book Nina's Adventures.*

## Third Way not fascist

Thanks for reviewing our *Counter Culture* magazine (*APR*, Volume 1, Number 3). I have to say however that the Third Way for us is not "right wing." Indeed we reject the abuse of the term by Blair and Clinton precisely because their revised form of social democracy is too right-wing for us! Our politics stress anti-authoritarianism and co-operation so how you see this as "neo-fascist" is difficult to comprehend. Perhaps it is you who

are confused rather than us?

Many in the Third Way came from the "right" initially but more and more have come from the "left." You have to build a Third Way by recruiting from somewhere! What unites us all is our opposition to Capitalism and our desire to replace it with something better than State Socialism.

Still, people can judge for themselves if they read our publications or they can look at our free web site at: <http://www.users.dircon.co.uk/~thirdway>

Best wishes  
Jeannie Trueman  
thirdway@dircon.co.uk  
United Kingdom

*Editor's note: Given the content of your magazine and web site (with their curious combination of limited concern over a few narrow anti-authoritarian themes juxtaposed with other ethnic nationalist and racist themes), along with the recent*

*history of other European neo-fascist groups exploring similar terrain, I don't see any reason not to consider Third Way to be operating in the same neo-fascist milieu. Interested readers should indeed check for themselves.*

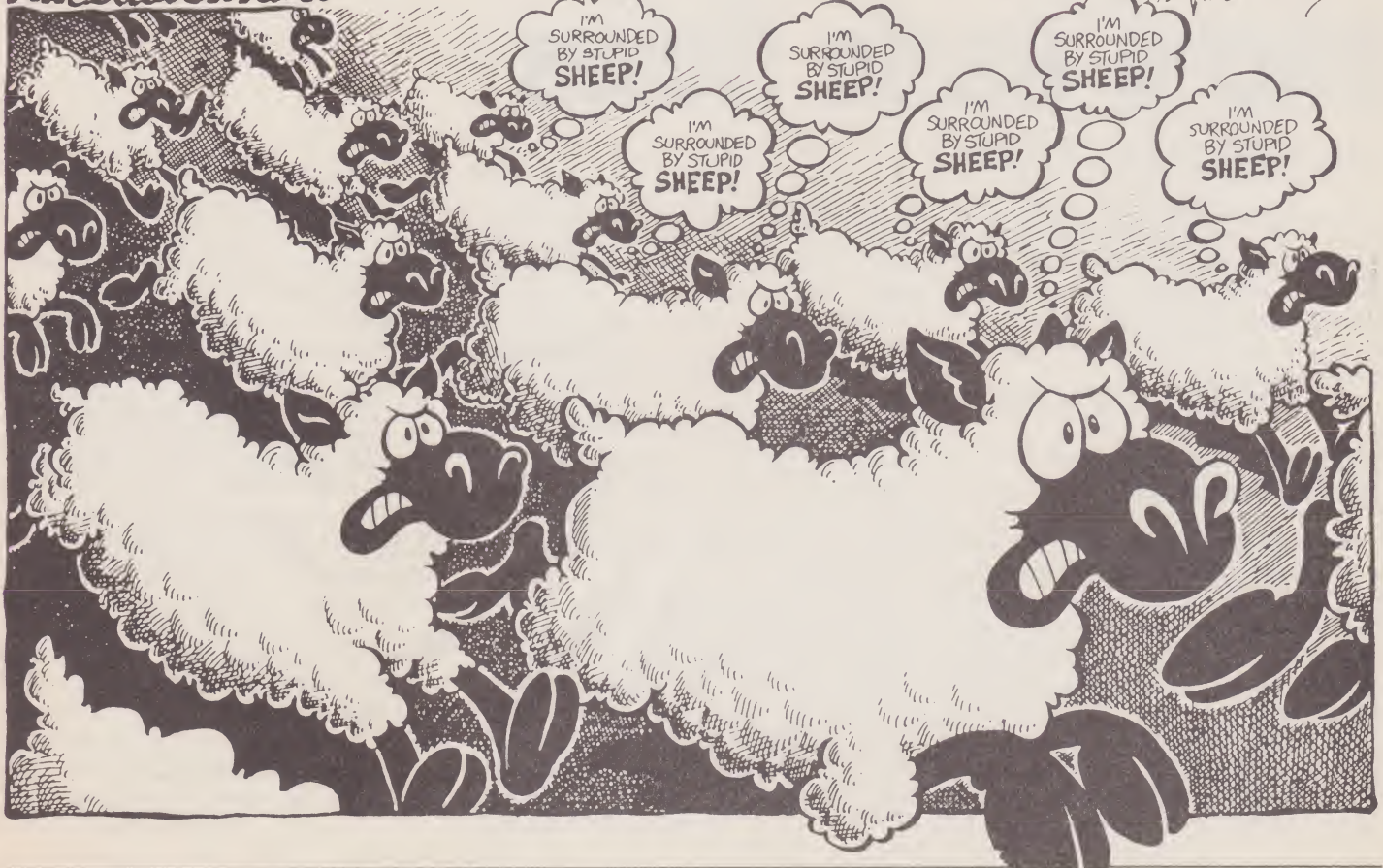
## No respect for APR

Dear overeducated snobs,

Your illegitimate commentary regarding *Covert Action Quarterly* is such because you don't have the first idea of how to deal with what you pathetically refer to as political fairy tales. Also you don't know how to make a distinction between lies and true suppressed history as well. Having sent information to Louis Wolf on on-going situations I am involved in and then having them intercepted and deep sixed by intermediate parties such as that college educated midlevel staff, I can

Continued on page 62

## Nina's Adventures





## Radio Resistance



The October 1998 micro-radio demonstration in Washington, D.C. Photo: Len Bracken

# Micro Radio News

Jesse Walker & Tom Wheeler

*"One of the intentions of corporate-controlled media is to instill in people a sense of disempowerment, of immobilization and paralysis. Its outcome is to turn you into good consumers. It is to keep people isolated, to feel that there is no possibility for social change."*

-David Barsamian, *Alternative Radio*

## MICRO RADIO SUPPORTERS GATHER IN WASHINGTON

On October 4 and 5, dozens of unlicensed radio broadcasters congregated in Washington, DC to protest the Federal Communications Commission's stranglehold on the broadcast band and to call for the decriminalization of low-watt "micro" radio.

The event began with a series of workshops at the Latin American Youth Center, in the Mount Pleasant section of town; sessions ranged from classes in

building transmitters to a friendly debate over whether commercial and noncommercial pirate stations should make common cause. At day's end the activists repaired to La Casa, a neighborhood church, and mixed with a local audience at a community cabaret, featuring local rappers, poets, and people playing all kinds of music, from Latin American to Eastern European to bluegrass. Over 200 people turned out for the event, while others listened to it on Radio Free Mount Pleasant, a micro station built for the occasion.

The next day, three pirate broadcasters—David Leder of Kind Radio in San Marcos, Texas; Diane Fleming of the recently shut-down Radio Mutiny in West Philadelphia; and Jerry Szoka of Grid Radio in Cleveland—joined the present author in debating attorney Wayne Coy and *\*Broadcasting and Cable\** editor Henry Jessel at the Freedom Forum, a

Gannet-sponsored foundation devoted to free-speech and free-press issues. Between 50 and 100 activists then marched on the FCC and National Association of Broadcasters buildings, hauling an elaborate series of puppets. In the lead: a giant Pinocchio marionette, complete with expanding nose, named "Kennardio" after FCC chairman William Kennard. Behind Kennardio, pulling his strings: a giant ape with a TV set in place of its head, labeled "National Association of Broadcasters." Behind that, pulling *its* strings: a giant green pyramid covered with corporate logos, representing the real source of power at both the NAB and the FCC. Several costumed marchers posed as the FCC's "nerd patrol," complete with "tri-angulation backpacks"; one of those packs contained an FM radio transmitter, allowing the marchers to broadcast to passing motorists and office workers. The

**Continued on page 13**



# Bits & Pieces

Tom Wheeler

"In all honesty, Johnny, we are often at the mercy of the White House for the news we report. Frequently, we simply repeat verbatim what the White House tells us."

-Connie Chung in reply to Johnny Carson's question: "How much of the national news that you report to the public each night consists of information you've actually gone out and dug up on your own?"

## SELECTIVE RETRACTIONS

Over the summer, CNN and *Time* did a controversial report on "Operation Tailwind" and charged that the US military used the deadly nerve gas Sarin against American defectors in Laos during the Vietnam War. Under enormous pressure from the military establishment and prominent figures like Henry Kissinger and General Colin Powell, CNN and *Time* retracted their stories. The corporate press dutifully followed CNN's complete capitulation to the military establishment. This does bring up the interesting question as to what kind of information gets retracted and what doesn't. Not surprisingly, false information is printed and presented as historical fact so long as it serves certain agendas. FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting) columnist Norman Solomon provided an example of this in a recent column. "For a third of a century, U.S. media outlets have not bothered to retract their false reporting of events in the Gulf of Tonkin," says Solomon. This led him to ask a number of *Washington Post* staffers whether the newspaper ever issued a retraction for all the blatant lies presented as official truth in its reporting about this incident. "I can assure you that there was never any retraction," said Murrey Marder, a reporter who wrote much of the *Washington Post's* coverage of August 1964 events in the Gulf of Tonkin. He added: "If you were making a retraction, you'd have to make a retraction of virtually everyone's entire coverage of the Vietnam War." Solomon quotes Marder

at length in his column. "News coverage of events in the Tonkin Gulf was all driven by the White House," recalled Marder, who was a *Post* reporter from 1946 to 1985. "It was an operation—a deliberate manipulation of public opinion.... None of us knew, of course, that there had been drafted, months before, a resolution to justify American direct entry into the war, which became the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution."

## BANANA JOURNALISM

The *Cincinnati Enquirer's* complete and unequivocal surrender to Chiquita is staggering. Shortly after the paper ran an 18-page special supplement that exposed the pervasive criminal conduct in the Chiquita Banana Company, Chiquita pressured the paper to fire the reporter. Based on the assertions from Chiquita that reporter Mike Gallagher had illegally obtained voice mails, the paper renounced the *entire* series, published frothing front-page apologies on three separate days, fired Gallagher and place the blame for the entire fiasco on him. The paper then agreed to pay Chiquita over \$10 million to settle potential legal claims against the *Enquirer* and its owners, the Gannett chain. The media subservience to power in this case is utterly astounding. Virtually absent from corporate media reports was the fact that no one has disputed the authenticity of the voice mail and the damaging internal Chiquita documents exposed in Gallagher's series called "Chiquita Secrets Revealed." However, this didn't stop the paper from claiming in its apology that, "The *Enquirer* has now become convinced that the above representations, accusations and conclusions are untrue and created a false and misleading impression of Chiquita's business practices." It should also be noted that Cincinnati's most powerful businessman, Chiquita CEO Carl Linder used to own the *Cincinnati Enquirer* and he managed to obliterate and punish those voices that dared to question the business prac-

tices of the Chiquita Banana Company. Lost in this entire debacle was the truth.

## GARY WEBB VINDICATED

The CIA has admitted it deliberately ignored evidence of drug smuggling by Contra allies, according to an internal report by former CIA Inspector-General Frederick Hitz. In the report, CIA cable traffic showed that as early as the summer of 1981, the CIA was aware the Contra leadership "had decided to engage in drug trafficking to the United States to raise funds for its activities." The report also shows the CIA did nothing to stop it, they deliberately impeded other investigations, and the CIA came to the aid of drug-dealers by retrieving their drug money from the police. When Gary Webb made similar accusations in his "Dark Alliance" series for the San Jose *Mercury News*, he was literally vilified by virtually every mainstream news organization. An apology is owed Gary Webb. Given the cowardly behavior of such media outlets as the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*—who are willing prostitutes for the CIA, don't expect it.

## "ARBEIT MACHT FREI"

"It's work that sets you free" claimed the exuberant Jason Turner, the newly hired director of New York City's Human Resources Administration which oversees the city's welfare program. Used in Nazi propaganda and posted over the gates at Auschwitz and Dachau, that phrase captures in stark terms the views of the current administration of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. A professed enemy of "idleness" which he equates with "spiritual harm," Turner believes such behavior "is responsible for much of the decay in the social and family fabric." Turner preaches about the nobility and necessity of hard work and self-righteously claims money without work is very "harmful." He should know. Turner puts in a very short, three-day work week as the city's workfare



## ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

### News, Notes & Counter-Information

*übermensch* for which he receives a generous six-figure salary at taxpayer expense—providing plenty of idle time for Mr. Turner to devise ever more creative ways to harm low-income families he believes must be herded into cubicle concentration camps and sacrificed to the corporate slaughterhouse.

#### GENERAL STUPIDITY

When U.S. Drug Czar General Barry McCaffrey announced that the United States had 8.22 murders per 100,000 people in 1995 compared to 17.58 in the Netherlands, it once again displayed the General's penchant for scientific stupidity and statistical fraud. When his office was confronted with the fact that the actual Dutch murder rate is 1.8 per 100,000 people, less than a fourth that in the U.S. (the 17.58 figure is the rate for *attempted* murders), his spokesman James McDonough continued to claim the Dutch are "much more violent" and that the actual Dutch murder rate shows they are simply "more inept" at murder than Americans. There are plenty more examples of McCaffrey's cynical disregard for basic facts and blatant misinformation. For example, his European briefing book claims "30.2 percent of Dutch youths say they have tried marijuana, vs. 9.1 percent in the United States." Stanton Peele, an expert on addiction who believes the current drug war is "badly misguided," points out on his *Stanton Peele Addiction Web Site (SPAWS)* that the Dutch numbers represent lifetime use for the 16-19 years age group of the Amsterdam population in 1994, but only current (past month) use by the American group—obviously a ridiculous comparison. The comparable lifetime prevalence ("ever used") figure to the 30.2 percent for the Amsterdam population for American youths is 38.2 percent in 1994. In the U.S., this figure for 1997 was 49.6 percent. This has compelled SPAWS (<http://www.peele.net/>) to periodically present the General McCaffrey Scientific Fool Award to an outstanding perpetrator of scientific tomfoolery or fraud in the drug and alcohol area. The first recipient is, of course, the general himself.

#### HUMOROUS THREATS

In response to increased union activity, The Borders bookstore chain prepared a

confidential manual on "Union Awareness Training for Borders Managers." The document seeks to instruct management with techniques aimed at avoiding unionization at its stores. These include such things as discussing "potential negatives associated with [unions]" and providing "facts about unions" with employees as part of any effort to "vigorously strive to preserve an environment which nurtures the fulfillment of these goals," namely the squashing of any potential organizing efforts. The manual points out the downside of dealing with Borders employees, noting "they are a demanding bunch" (read: independent-minded), which requires that management "be assertive in our response to any union activity that we encounter in our stores." What kind of aggressive tactics is Borders contemplating? A telling and wildly comical portion of the manual is the section entitled "Recognizing the Early Signs of Union Activity." The manual instructs management to look for a variety of potentially ominous warning signs such as: "Employees gather in small groups of twos and threes and immediately halt their conversations when managers approach," "Employees who are not normally seen talking to one another begin associating more regularly," and, heaven forbid, "employees start having regular meetings or bar nights without inviting managers." Other menacing developments threatening business as usual include such concerns as managers "getting an inordinate amount of critical and probing questions concerning policies and/or benefits," and "cartoons and notes which take shots at the company or at the managers." Beware of humor in the workplace.

#### THE ECOLOGIST SHREDDED

*The Ecologist*, a radical green magazine which has been publishing for nearly 30 years was set to publish an issue critical of the Monsanto corporation. Their printer, Penwells had been printing the magazine for over 25 years without any conflict. Oddly, after printing 14,000 copies, it destroyed the entire print run without notice. Penwells has refused comment. Although a new printer was found, Britain's leading newsagents, WH Smith and John Menzies have refused to sell the latest controversial issue of *The Ecologist* for fear of being sued by Monsanto. "Monsanto has been able time and time

again to bring about what is in effect a *de facto* censorship" writes co-editor Zac Goldsmith in the current issue. With respected retailers refusing to stock the magazine, the independent press suffers another blow as cowardly retailers and self-censoring printers bend to intimidation by corporate thugs.

#### MONSANTO MELTDOWN

This summer, an all-out war broke out over genetically engineered foods across Europe. In August, Monsanto launched a major public relations campaign aimed at overcoming the European public's opposition to genetic engineering of foods. Within months, Monsanto was facing a major crisis when they found public acceptance of its genetically modified foods falling dramatically. According to recently leaked internal documents from the company, "At each point in this project, we keep thinking that we have reached the low point and that public thinking will stabilize, but, apparently, that has not happened yet," writes the author, Stan Greenberg, a U.S. poll adviser whose clients have included President Bill Clinton, Tony Blair and the new German Chancellor, Gerhard Schroeder. The documents suggest Monsanto should move into "crisis management" mode. Given their track record of subtle intimidation, one wonders what kind of tactics Monsanto has on the drawing board for its "crisis management" efforts.

#### CHAMPAGNE SOCIALISM

Those staunch advocates of the working class at *The Nation* have a special treat for you, provided you can afford it. They invite you to join them in December on a fun-filled fund-raising Caribbean cruise where you can wine and dine with the magazine's famed contributors aboard the luxury liner M.S. Veendam. Although most working class folks cannot afford the expensive price tag, rest assured the cruise-goers will be looking after your working class interests in magnificent style! Taking great care of the important vacation needs and every whim of our financially well-endowed guests will be the underpaid and overworked, mostly Indonesian and Filipino crew, and likely the only "real" workers the guests will have any contact with. Nothing like a luxury vacation for our tourists to get a



# ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

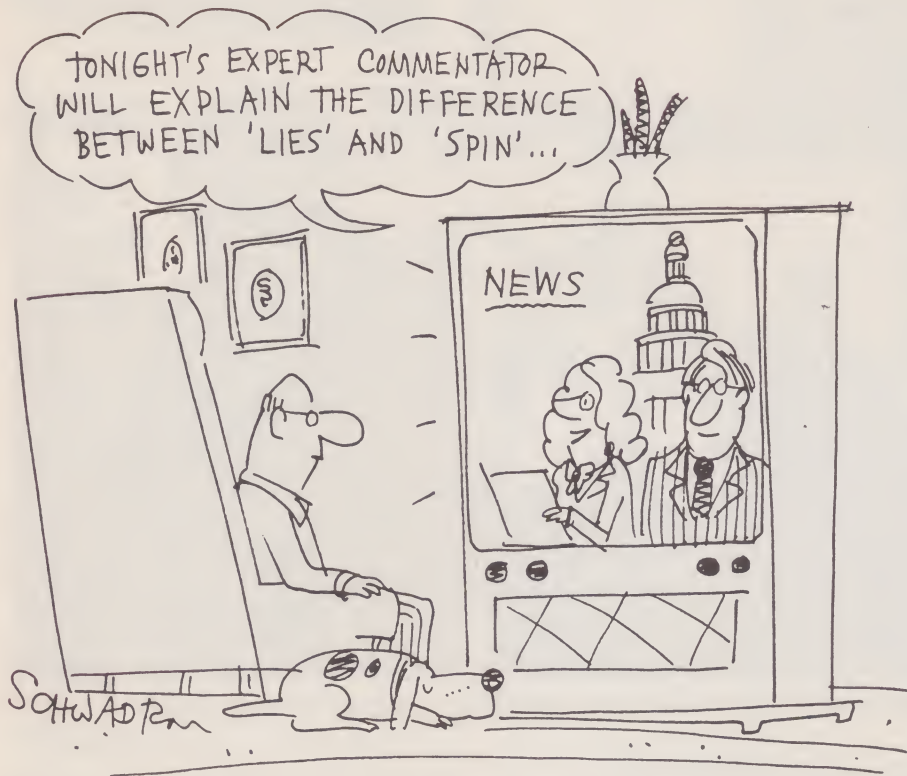
## News, Notes & Counter-Information

### THE END OF FACTSHEET 5?

The words "the final word on the zine revolution" are written on the cover of Issue #64 of *Factsheet 5*. Inside the covers, both R. Seth Friedman and Christopher Becker reflect on their zine years and announce they are calling it quits. Becker claims he is "burned out" and Friedman, after devoting five years of his life to this endeavor, has "run out of steam." Although Friedman was initially optimistic that the magazine would continue, several months have passed and no one has stepped up to take over the reins. There may be a couple of reasons for this. Doug Holland writes in the Autumn issue of *Zine World* that, "It takes a monumental amount of work to organize, publish, and keep a project like F5 alive." Not many folks want to subject themselves to such a difficult and daunting task. Another reason may be the price tag: the rumored asking price to take over the publication is \$70,000.

### NATIONAL PROPAGANDA RADIO

In another example of the US media and professional propagandists working together, *National Public Radio (NPR)* has named propaganda czar Kevin Klose as its new CEO. Klose previously served as the director of the US International Broadcasting Bureau, which runs a variety of US government overseas propaganda programs. That includes managing and coordinating CIA-connected outfits such as *Radio Liberty* and *Radio Free Europe*, as well as the *Voice of America* and *Radio Marti*. CIA influence in mainstream media outlets is certainly nothing new (see, "Journalism and the CIA" by Daniel Brandt in the Spring/Summer 1998 issue of *APR*). John Chancellor worked with *Voice of America* and NBC, and Ben Bradlee at the *Washington Post* previously served as a propagandist in Paris, taking orders from the CIA station chief. Katharine Graham, owner of the *Washington Post*, said at a 1988 speech at CIA headquarters, "There are some things the general public does not need to know and shouldn't. I believe democracy flourishes when the government can take legitimate steps to keep its secrets, and when the press can decide whether to print what it knows." An enlightening comment given the fact that the CIA outright owns and subsidizes a variety of newspapers, news



chance to see real, authentic, exploited Third World workers in action, up close and personal. Now that's an adventure!

### NATURAL CRAPOLA

The rapidly-expanding Whole Foods Market, which sells overpriced organic produce and natural products, is the biggest corporate natural food store chain in the United States and an aggressive marketer of the new wave of "natural consumerism." Whole Foods CEO John MacKay frequently oozes New Age concern for the "well-being of everyone on the planet," claims he is an advocate for "love, trust, and cooperation," and describes himself as a staunch "libertarian." "Libertarian" is defined in the dictionary as "the ideal that a person should uphold the principles of absolute and unrestricted liberty of thought and action." Of course, when it comes to allowing his own employees the liberty to exercise those very same principles, MacKay has decidedly different ideas. Despite all the rhetoric about "empowering" employees in the decision-making process, the employee handbook stipulates shaving policy in regards to women's legs. While advocating "natural" foods and "natural" living, "natural" legs for women has officially

been declared an unacceptable liberty. Long pants are required for any woman who does not properly shave according to the dictates of the commissars at Whole Foods. However, this policy does not apply to men who are granted the right to display their "natural" legs by the freedom loving overlords at Whole Foods. Libertarianism as practiced by John Mackay certainly isn't a very sexy ideology, but it is certainly sexist.

### MICROSOFT PAYOLA

If you are a university professor that specializes in business, math or computer science and you're looking to make a few extra bucks, Microsoft has a program just for you. All you need to do is mention how Microsoft programs help you in your work the next time you present a research paper at a conference and the generous folks at Microsoft will slip you a \$200 check. Mention Microsoft at several presentations and watch those \$200 checks pile up. While some scholars have objected to this tactic, there are some professors who have had no problem taking the money. However, they do have a problem publicizing this fact, choosing to be very discreet about the payoffs and never mentioning it in their presentations.



**The Biotic Baking Brigade has been quite busy lately. Over a period of six weeks a half-dozen victims have been nailed in the face with an assortment of tasty desserts by pie-throwing demonstrators.**

services, radio stations, periodicals, book publishers and other communications facilities.

### PIE-TOSSING EVENTS

The Biotic Baking Brigade has been quite busy lately. Over a period of six weeks a half-dozen victims have been nailed in the face with an assortment of tasty desserts by pie-throwing demonstrators. Among the recipients were Sierra Club executive director Carl Pope, San Francisco mayor Willie Brown, Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman, Monsanto CEO Robert Shapiro and World Trade Organization director Renato Ruggiero. The Biotic Baking Brigade pledged to continue to chuck more pastries in the name of social justice. Spokesman Jeff Taylor won't reveal any specific targets but did say the targets "will be the upper crust, the cream of society."

### THE NEW MEDIA LAPDOG

As if being fired by *U.S. News & World Report* wasn't enough (Bits & Pieces, Spring/Summer 1998 issue), Tom Tomorrow's full-page cartoon commissioned by Steven Brill's newly launched *Content* was rejected because Brill didn't like it and simply refused to run it. *Content* calls itself "the Independent Voice of the Information Age" which promises fiercely critical analysis of the media without fear or favor. Tom Tomorrow's cartoon just happened to address the very issue of how the media shapes the "content" of the news in the interests of the owners. Hmmm. Smells like yet another establishment lapdog masquerading as a media "watchdog." [see the cartoon on page 13]



San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown gets pied by the Biotic Baking Brigade.

### THEY SHOOT JOURNALISTS, DON'T THEY?

The pathetic blabber that passes for serious discussion on the Sunday morning talk shows reached new heights of silliness during an exchange between Sam Donaldson and Cokie Roberts on the ABC program *This Week*. During a discussion about security on Capitol Hill, Donaldson pointed out that "we just need to be more vigilant because one of these nice-looking people may be nuts." Cokie Roberts responded by saying "They're not terribly nice looking, actually. I have to tell you, there is a mirror shortage in the country if you look at the tourists in the Capitol these days." Due to a clerical error, the transcript of the exchange which was posted at the ABC website on the Internet printed the word "terrorists" instead of "tourists." Given the Cokester's obvious contempt and disgust for ordinary people, one can only hope the next one takes proper aim at the chattering class.

### A STUNNING MOMENT

Ronnie Hawkins, a three-strikes defendant who was acting as his own attorney, became the first defendant in Los Angeles County to be zapped with a stun belt. The battery-powered device has been

used by deputies for several years and are

designed to restrain violent defendants and those who are escape risks. So what egregious action from the defendant merited this excruciating 50,000-volt jolt of electricity? Hawkins was simply talking too much. Several public defendants were horrified by the judge's action given the fact that Hawkins had stayed seated, never used profanity or made any threats. Judge Joan Comparet-Cassani ordered the bailiff to stun Hawkins after repeated interruptions and several outbursts. Hawkins was on trial for stealing \$200 worth of aspirin. He faced 25 years to life because he had two prior felony convictions. Hawkins has since filed a \$50 million dollar lawsuit and also wants an injunction barring the Sheriff's Department from using electronic stun belts on defendants who don't present a physical danger.

### LEFT-WING CULTURE WARS

Murray Bookchin seems to delight in bashing and belittling "lifestyle anarchists" (apparently, a term Bookchin reserves exclusively for his critics), calling them "demagogues" and describing aspects of lifestyle anarchism as "infantile" and "fascistic." And Saint Murray seems to be finding the decadent scourge of "lifestyle anarchism" threatening anarchist



## ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

### News, Notes & Counter-Information



Willie Brown after being pied for his harassment of San Francisco's homeless.

letter to the 5th May Group (representing Turkish and Kurdish anarchists in exile in the U.K.) regarding the Turkish translation of his book *Social Anarchism vs. Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm*, Bookchin writes that he was "greatly alarmed" that a Turkish periodical contained an article from John Clark. And what is so alarming about Clark? According to Bookchin, Clark is (gasp!) a Taoist anarchist. A lifestyle anarchist! Oh, horror of horrors! Bookchin continues to claim that anarchists like Clark threaten to "derail anarchism" and that his ilk advance a "negative rather than a substantive concept of liberty." Thus, it is *bad* anarchism to be avoided at all costs, while social anarchism is a positive concept, and thus, the only worthy path for anarchists. Bookchin direly warns us that Clark has aligned himself with anarchists in the United States who are influenced by Taoism, Buddhism, and Native American spirituality. While Saint Murray is busy disparaging other cultural traditions and desperately conjuring up an "infantile" culture war of sorts, the 5th May Group wrote to say they didn't understand the relevance of Bookchin's fear of the spreading plague of "lifestyle anarchism" in Turkey because "it simply does not exist!" Saint Murray was heartened to hear these words and wrote "I am certainly glad to learn from you that any at-

tempts to import Taoism into Turkey will likely not be successful." Pat Buchanan would be proud.

#### HENRY ROLLINS SPEAKS

That cutting-edge, insolent hipster and former Black Flag front-man Henry Rollins once said, "I consider myself a true rebel." Like many rule-breaking rebels in the '90s, Rollins has capitalized on his underground cred by engaging in such "daring" and "subversive" activities as shilling for corporate America. Years ago, this punk rock icon became a spokesman for the sweatshop-friendly folks at The Gap. Now Rollins has inked a deal with General Motors to hawk its line of autos in some upcoming commercials. Media outlets breaking this news suggested that "some eyebrows might be raised" and one media report even claimed that "Sectors of the American Music Industry are aghast...." Yawn. In truth, the crushing conformity of these so-called dissident voices from the cultural underground blaring from our radios and TV sets screaming "Consume!" has been the official advertising philosophy emanating from corporate boardrooms for years. During his recent spoken-word tour, Rollins often lectured attentive crowds of wannabe hipsters that they had to "rebel by filling their minds with

Among the recipients were Sierra Club executive director Carl Pope, San Francisco mayor Willie Brown, Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman, Monsanto CEO Robert Shapiro and World Trade Organization director Renato Ruggiero.

knowledge." Look for Rollins to fill youthful minds with exciting new ways to properly accessorize their rebel image courtesy of GM.

#### THE WORKING RICH

When *Forbes* magazine came out with their rankings of the world's richest billionaires for 1998, they also announced they had tightened their criteria for the rankings by including only the "working rich" and excluding dictators and royalty. According to *Forbes*, only billionaires who have built their own fortunes or are working with their inheritance rather than the silver-spoon set that is living off its wealth are listed. The new criteria meant that former Indonesian President Suharto became a new member of the list as part of the "working rich." The former dictator amassed a family fortune worth approximately \$4 billion. Suharto became part of the "working rich" after he resigned in May of 1998, thus becoming eligible to qualify for *Forbes'* stricter standards.

#### TERRORISM IN THE MEDIA

After an arson attack on a Vail, CO, ski resort, the media often labeled the Vail fires as a "terrorist" act, whereas abortion clinic bombings were rarely labeled as such. Those same media outlets also brought in so-called "experts" such as Ron Arnold, executive director of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise and a chief organizer of the Wise Use movement, to comment on this latest act of "eco-terrorism." What the media often failed to mention is Arnold used to



# ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

## News, Notes & Counter-Information

serve as a spokesperson for Dow and Union Carbide and his movement is heavily financed by corporate contributions. Then again, maybe Arnold is uniquely qualified to talk about terrorism. Arnold once told an interviewer regarding environmental activists: "We're out to kill the fuckers. We're simply trying to eliminate them. Our goal is to eliminate environmentalism once and for all."

### ZINN GOES HOLLYWOOD

From the entertainment world comes the news that Oscar-winning screenwriters Matt Damon and Ben Affleck will co-produce a 10-hour miniseries for Fox, *A People's History of the United States*, which is based on Howard Zinn's book of the same name. No air date has been announced.

### CONDEMNED MAN MAY WRITE

On August 25th, 1998 a three judge federal appeals panel ruled unanimously that Mumia Abu-Jamal's rights as a prison journalist were violated. They ordered prison officials to stop reading mail between the condemned journalist and his lawyer and allow him to write professionally while he is on death row. While this was an important win for Mumia, it may be short-lived. Just two months later, Mumia's appeal was denied by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, upholding his death sentence. Governor Thomas Ridge has pledged to sign Mumia's death warrant.

### US HUMAN RIGHTS CHALLENGED

Two organizations, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have taken the United States to task for its poor record on human rights. "One of the most serious challenges to democracy comes not from developing nations, but from the United States," declared Joanna Weschler of Human Rights Watch. She cited the U.S. as one of only two countries—the other being Somalia—that has not ratified the Convention of the Rights of the Child. Weschler broadened her criticism accusing Western nations of "circumventing human rights concerns in their pursuit of globalisation and free markets." The Amnesty International report lists several international human rights treaties signed by the U.S. that U.S. agencies routinely violate such as the

Convention against Torture as well as extensively documenting the pervasiveness of police brutality. Amnesty also points out U.S. hypocrisy on its selective support for human rights in other nations.

*"Gang people are perfect Army members—they understand a chain of command and are not afraid of anything."*

-Chuck Clapper of the US Army in the July 30th article "Gang members make great GIs, Army expert says" from the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*

"Bits & Pieces" welcomes interesting news, information and feedback. Contact Tom Wheeler at PO Box 4710, Arlington, VA 22204, USA or e-mail: [rabblement@juno.com](mailto:rabblement@juno.com)

## CULTURAL JETLAG—JIM SIERGEY & TOM ROBERTS

*It is with great pride that the board of directors of the Nobel Foundation in Stockholm wishes to inform you that*

### YOU MAY HAVE ALREADY WON A NOBEL PRIZE!!!

for your outstanding contributions during the previous year in the fields of physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature, international peace and economic sciences.

Eric Adamson  
2301 Meadowcreek Ln  
Dewberry Plains, MI

Hi, I'm philanthropist Alfred Bernhard Nobel. Open up this envelope and send in the requested form ASAP! What've you got to lose? Who knows, maybe I'll see you in Stockholm!



Dear Mr. Adamson,

Will you be ready for the Nobel Prize Patrol when we come to your door to announce that you are one of our lucky winners? Well, you won't be if you don't send in the enclosed application!

### RESPOND TO THIS OFFER AT ONCE AND GUARANTEE YOUR PLACE ON OUR WINNERS' LIST!

Since 1901, we've given big cash prizes to all sorts of fascinating and intellectually accomplished people, but none of them could've won if they hadn't sent in their application. So what're you waiting for? It's fun and easy. Just read these testimonials.



Dalai Lama  
1989 Nobel Peace Prize

"Since winning the Nobel Prize, I'm more famous than ever! I've got Richard Gere's home phone number!"



Marie Curie  
1903 Nobel Prize in physics

"I never used to enter into contests and such, but, on a lark, I sent in to Nobel, and wouldn't you know it, I became the first female recipient of a Nobel Prize!"



Albert Einstein  
1921 Nobel Prize in physics

"Hey, you don't have to be a rocket scientist to stick a label on a business reply envelope. I did it and won big time. Thanks, Nobel Foundation!"

### THINK OF ALL THE EXCITEMENT AND PRESTIGE A NOBEL PRIZE COULD BRING YOU!

It's as simple as affixing a sticky label on a card to enter, so don't delay!

YES!

#### NOBEL PRIZE APPLICATION FORM

Eric Adamson  
2301 Meadowcreek Ln  
Dewberry Plains, MI

☐ YES! Enter me in the Nobel Prize Sweepstakes. I want to be the next BIG winner!

YOUR PRIZE CLAIM NUMBERS  
134256137 994938822 229542219 554112551

AFFIX STICKER HERE



# Radio Resistance

## Micro Radio News

continued from page 6

convoy stopped in front of the FCC, where it continued its illicit broadcast in plain sight of the commission's enforcers, then progressed to the NAB building, where a protester deftly lowered the NAB flag and raised a Jolly Roger.

At that point, the police dispersed the march; a 16-year-old girl was nearly arrested for stealing the flag (which she did not have), and a man was briefly booked for interfering when the police handcuffed the young woman. The day concluded with microbroadcasters and sympathizers lobbying their congressfolk on the Hill. -J.W.

## KBLT BUSTED BY FCC

KBLT in Los Angeles, a high-profile pirate radio station ranked as the best in LA by local publications over the past two years, fell silent on October 30.

KBLT is one of the more prominent of the 250 stations to be shut down by the government's relentless crackdown on unlicensed broadcasters. The station featured DJs such as Minutemen/firehose bassist Mike Watt and Black Flag/Circle Jerks vocalist Keith Morris. -T.W.

## HUMAN RIGHTS RADIO THREATENED

Mbanna Kantako's Human Rights Radio, the flagship station of the international micro radio movement received a certified letter from the FCC dated November 4 ordering him to cease broadcasting immediately. Kantako, who has endured 11 years of harassment, refuses to budge and plans to be on the air should the FCC decide to break down the door. This letter from the FCC is not his first. In 1990, the FCC fined Kantako \$750 and ordered him off the air. He refused to pay the fine and continued to broadcast. In fact, he expanded his broadcasting and started running 24 hours

a day, 7 days a week. The FCC decided to back off enforcing the order. -T.W.

## TREE RADIO BERKELEY

Two micro radio activists decided to go out on a limb to protest the FCC crackdown on micro radio broadcasters. The two activists, Sparrow and Birdman, climbed 50 feet high up a redwood tree in Berkeley on November 23rd and planned a marathon broadcast from the treetops to demand an end to the string of micro-power radio station closures and harassment by FCC officials. Calling themselves "Tree Radio Berkeley" (TRB), they broadcast at the 104.1 FM frequency which used to be occupied by Stephen Dunifer's *Free Radio Berkeley* before it was shut down after years of operation by a federal judge's order. TRB also demanded that the FCC approve the National Lawyers Guild Committee for Democratic Communications proposal for creating a non-commercial low power radio service. -T.W.

CONSERVATIVE MEDIA CRITICS SEEM TO VIEW MAINSTREAM JOURNALISM AS A SEETHING NEST OF RADICALISM AND SUBVERSION--

LATER, IN A SPECIAL "EYE ON AMERICA" --WE'LL LOOK AT HOW CAPITALIST OPPRESSORS RUTHLESSLY EXPLOIT THE PROLETARIAT!

FIRST, PLEASE JOIN ME IN A ROUSING CHORUS OF "THE INTERNATIONALE!"



--A PLACE WHERE HARDCORE LEFTISTS HIDE BEHIND THE PRETENSE OF OBJECTIVITY-- WHILE SHAMELESSLY SLANTING THE NEWS TO SERVE THEIR OWN NEFARIOUS AGENDA!

YOU KNOW, WANDA, I DON'T THINK ANYTHING THESE KNUCKLEHEADED REPUBLICANS SAY IS EVEN WORTH REPORTING!

I QUITE AGREE! LET'S MOVE ON TO OUR GLORIOUS PRESIDENT'S LATEST BRILLIANT POLICY PROPOSAL!

ACTION McNEWS

ACTION McNEWS

ACT McN



RUPERT MURDOCH HAS RESPONDED BY BRINGING US THE FOX NEWS CHANNEL--RUN BY RUSH LIMBAUGH'S PAL ROGER AILES AND FEATURING CONSERVATIVES SUCH AS BRIT HUME AND FREQUENT LIMBAUGH GUEST HOST TONY SNOW, FOX PROCLAIMS ITSELF TO BE THE FIRST TRULY UNBIASED NEWS CHANNEL...

WE REPORT-- YOU DECIDE!

OUR TOP STORY TONIGHT--ARE LIBERALS MORONS OR WHAT?



IN OTHER WORDS, BLATANT RIGHTWARD BIAS INTENDED TO COUNTER A PERCEIVED LEFTWARD BIAS IS BEING DEFINED--IN A RATHER ORWELLIAN MANNER--AS A LACK OF BIAS...

WELL, IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH, YOU KNOW!

AND THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA ARE CLEARLY DOUBLEPLUS UNGOOD!



OF COURSE, MOST JOURNALISTS WILL ACKNOWLEDGE-- AT LEAST, AFTER A DRINK OR TWO-- THAT THE NEWS OUTLETS THEY WORK FOR DO TEND TO BE BIASED--IN FAVOR OF THEIR OWNER'S INTERESTS, THAT IS...

WELL, SURE-- WE HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT OFFENDING THE BOSS, JUST LIKE ANYONE ELSE!

OH, COME ON! I'VE NEVER HEARD ANYTHING SO LUDICROUS!

I THINK HE'S HAD ONE TOO MANY!



AFTER ALL--AS OUR FRIENDS AT FAIR HAVE OFTEN POINTED OUT-- EVERY NEWSPAPER IN THE COUNTRY HAS A BUSINESS SECTION ADDRESSING THE CONCERNS OF AN ELITE MINORITY... BUT HOW MANY HAVE LABOR SECTIONS AIMED AT THE MAJORITY OF THEIR READERS..?

DO YOU REALIZE THAT REAL HOURLY WAGES WERE LOWER IN 1996 THAN IN 1965--WHILE CEO SALARIES SOARED EXPONENTIALLY?

THANK GOODNESS THEY KEEP US SO WELL INFORMED ABOUT SUCH OUTRAGEOUS INEQUITIES!



A version of this Tom Tomorrow cartoon was tentatively accepted for publication by Steven Brill's *Content*, a new magazine of press criticism. However, it was later rejected--reportedly because Brill didn't agree with it--pointedly proving Tomorrow's central idea that media owners ultimately call the shots.



## Uncovering the Secret State

# The Theory of Coercion: THE CIA'S SECRET MANUAL ON COERCIVE QUESTIONING

*This June 1963 document, titled KUBARK Counterintelligence Interrogations (KUBARK is a code-word referring to the CIA),...explored methods of extracting information from resistant sources and advised torture techniques that were not officially renounced until the mid-1980s...*

*These methods have recently come back to haunt the CIA, as a stream of media and official reports has exposed extensive agency assistance to foreign killers. In several countries where U.S. intelligence maintained working relationships with repressive security forces, victims and victimizers have gone on record with accounts of how the United States, through the CIA, has promoted grave human rights abuses. In two of the more prominent cases—the CIA's involvement in Guatemala and Honduras—pressure from human rights groups and some members of Congress has risen to the point where the agency has been compelled to conduct internal reviews, submit its conduct to the scrutiny of outside investigators and shed some notorious criminals from its payroll.*

*In Guatemala, a country that endured decades of dictatorship following the CIA's 1954 operation to overthrow the government of elected president Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, the agency employed until very recently military officers who were responsible for "serious human rights violations such as assassination, extrajudicial execution, torture, or kidnapping while they were [CIA] assets," according to a 1996 report by President Clinton's Intelligence Oversight Board....*

*Despite [censored] omissions, KUBARK Counterintelligence Interrogation contains new details on several secret CIA endeavors, including the agency's own mind control research. Like the recent media reports on the CIA's ties to murderous security forces, the manual fills significant gaps in the history of U.S. foreign policy. As no*

*previously released document has done, this manual places the CIA's hostile interrogation strategies on the record. The manual was designed to root out the secrets of interrogatees, but now that its contents can be widely read, it is the CIA that has many questions to answer. -John Elliston*

**C**oercive procedures are designed not only to exploit the resistant source's internal conflicts and induce him to wrestle with himself but also to bring a superior outside force to bear upon the subject's resistance. Non-coercive methods are not likely to succeed if

**All coercive techniques are designed to induce regression...the result of external pressures of sufficient intensity is the loss of those defenses most recently acquired by civilized man: "...the capacity to carry out the highest creative activities, to meet new, challenging, and complex situations, to deal with trying interpersonal relations, and to cope with repeated frustrations. Relatively small degrees of homeostatic derangement, fatigue, pain, sleep loss, or anxiety may impair these functions."**

their selection and use is not predicated upon an accurate psychological assessment of the source. In contrast, the same coercive method may succeed against persons who are very unlike each other. The chances of success rise steeply, nevertheless, if the coercive technique is matched to the source's personality. Individuals react differently even to such seemingly non-discriminatory stimuli as drugs. Moreover, it is a waste of time and energy to apply strong pressures on a hit-or-miss basis if a tap on the psychological jugular will produce compliance.

All coercive techniques are designed to induce regression. As Hinkle notes in "The Physiological State of the Interrogation Subject as it Affects Brain Function," the result of external pressures of sufficient intensity is the loss of those defenses most recently acquired by civilized man: "...the capacity to carry out the highest creative activities, to meet new,

challenging, and complex situations, to deal with trying interpersonal relations, and to cope with repeated frustrations. Relatively small degrees of homeostatic derangement, fatigue, pain, sleep loss, or anxiety may impair these functions." As a result, "most people who are exposed to coercive procedures will talk and usually reveal some information that they might not have revealed otherwise."

One subjective reaction often evoked by coercion is a feeling of guilt. Meltzer observes, "In some lengthy interrogations, the interrogator may, by virtue of his role as the sole supplier of satisfaction and punishment, assume the stature and importance of a parental figure in the prisoner's feeling and thinking. Although there may be intense hatred for the interrogator, it is not unusual for warm feel-

ings also to develop. This ambivalence is the basis for guilt reactions, and if the interrogator nourishes these feelings, the guilt may be strong enough to influence the prisoner's behavior.... Guilt makes compliance more likely...."

Farber says that the response to coercion typically contains "...at least three important elements: debility, dependency, and dread." Prisoners "...have reduced viability, are helplessly dependent on their captors for the satisfaction of their many basic needs, and experience the emotional and motivational reactions of intense fear and anxiety.... Among the [American] POW's pressured by the Chinese Communists, the DDD syndrome in its full-blown form constituted a state of discomfort that was well-nigh intolerable." If the debility-dependency-dread state is unduly prolonged, however, the arrestee may sink into a defensive apathy from which it is hard to arouse him.



## SELECTIONS

### Uncovering the Secret State

Psychologists and others who write about physical or psychological duress frequently object that under sufficient pressure subjects usually yield but that their ability to recall and communicate information accurately is as impaired as the will to resist. This pragmatic objection has somewhat the same validity for a counterintelligence interrogation as for any other. But there is one significant difference. Confession is a necessary prelude to the CI [counterintelligence] interrogation of a hitherto unresponsive or concealing source. And the use of coercive techniques will rarely or never confuse an interrogatee so completely that he does not know whether his own confession is true or false. He does not need full mastery of all his powers of resistance and discrimination to know whether he is a spy or not. Only subjects who have reached a point where they are under delusions are likely to make false confessions that they believe. Once a true confession is obtained, the classic cautions apply. The pressures are lifted, at least enough so that the subject can provide counterintelligence information as accurately as possible. In fact, the relief granted the subject at this time fits neatly into the interrogation plan. He is told that the

changed treatment is a reward for truthfulness and an evidence that friendly handling will continue as long as he cooperates.

The profound moral objection to applying duress past the point of irreversible psychological damage has been stated. Judging the validity of other ethical arguments about coercion exceeds the scope of this paper. What is fully clear, however, is that controlled coercive manipulation of an interrogatee may impair his ability to make fine distinctions but will not alter his ability to answer correctly such gross questions as "Are you a Soviet agent? What is your assignment now? Who is your present case officer?"

When an interrogator senses that the subject's resistance is wavering, that his desire to yield is growing stronger than his wish to continue his resistance, the time has come to provide him with the acceptable rationalization: a face-saving reason or excuse for compliance. Novice interrogators may be tempted to seize upon the initial yielding triumphantly and to personalize the victory. Such a temptation must be rejected immediately. An interrogation is not a game played by two people, one to become the winner and the other the loser. It is simply a method

of obtaining correct and useful information. Therefore the interrogator should intensify the subject's desire to cease struggling by showing him how he can do so without seeming to abandon principle, self-protection, or other initial causes of resistance. If, instead of providing the right rationalization at the right time, the interrogator seizes gloatingly upon the subject's wavering, opposition will stiffen again.

The following are the principal coercive techniques of interrogation: arrest, detention, deprivation of sensory stimuli through solitary confinement or similar methods, threats and fear, debility, pain, heightened suggestibility and hypnosis, narcosis, and induced regression. This section also discusses the detection of malingering by interrogatees and the provision of appropriate rationalizations for capitulating and cooperating....

The "Theory of Coercion" is excerpted from John Elliston's *InTERRORgation: The CIA's Secret Manual on Coercive Questioning*, which in turn is largely reprinted from the CIA's original *KUBARK Counterintelligence Manual*. *InTERRORgation* is available for \$5.95 postpaid from ParaScope, 1430 Willamette #329, Eugene, Oregon 97401. An electronic version of the entire 56-page manual is also available at the ParaScope web site: [www.parascope.com/articles/0397/kubarkin](http://www.parascope.com/articles/0397/kubarkin)

## Eye-Opening Environmental Videos

### for Organizers, Activists, Educators & Citizens

Grassroots Democracy  
Bio-Engineering  
Nuclear Hazards  
Solar Energy  
Food Irradiation  
Whistle-Blowers  
Ecological Economics



Karl Grossman's investigative reports and interviews with  
**CALDICOTT • KAKU  
LAPPE • WALD • RIFKIN  
GOULD • STERNGLASS**  
& many others  
\$19.95 each + shipping & handling

CALL FOR FREE CATALOGUE  
**EnviroVideo • 1-800-ECO-TV46**



## Free Software, Anyone? LINUX, GNU AND THE FREE SOFTWARE MOVEMENT

**I**t's turning out to be a classic battle between Good and Evil. The Free Software movement—programmers who cooperatively write code and give it away (often in their own spare time)—is gaining enormous momentum. The darling of the free software movement—the Linux operating system—is lining up to challenge the product that Microsoft is staking its monopoly on: Windows NT (not to burst anybody's bubble, but Windows 98 is a joke inside and outside of Redmond). And Netscape captured the public eye earlier this year when a cadre of its programmers convinced their über-capitalist CEO Jim "I kept FedEx union-free" Barksdale to not only give away its core product (the web browser), but turn over development to the free software movement—a movement better known for its anarchist tendencies than for its MBAs.

The Free Software movement (it refers to itself as a movement, and even talks about "revolution") was sparked by a '70s leftist political radical at MIT named Richard M. Stallman (RMS). Actually, when RMS first started programming, nearly all software was free. But, during the 1970s, a wave of corporate ownership swept into computer programming (along with the rising tide of Microsoft), and organizations began to "copyright" software, forcing people to pay to use it (only one machine at a time, please). This went against the old hacker ethic: "information wants to be free."

To protect free software against this onslaught, RMS created a license called the GNU Public License (GPL), which is essentially an "open copyright" license (also called the "copyleft"). The GPL says that you can do anything you want with the software. You have access to the source code, so you can rewrite the software. *BUT* (and this is a big *but*), anyone

you give or sell the software (or a modified version of the software) to has the same rights you do; i.e., they can give it away, sell it, tinker with it, etc., but they must put anything they create from it under the GPL, too, for others to use. Hence, the GPL encourages sharing and discourages competition and property rights.

Needless to say, RMS often is accused of being a communist (possibly true), but people still like GPL software. Linux and Perl, two very prominent and popular products on the web, are both released under the GPL; in fact, the Oscar

leave teams as it suits them, and there's a high level of cooperation between even "competing" products. Hell, since all the source code is available anyway, people copy each other's code left and right (giving credit where credit is due, of course).

For example, in the Perl community, there's an open group that fixes bugs and adds features to the product, and a rotating leadership for the person who verifies the quality of the code and checks it in. In discussions, certain people within the free software community will automatically be respected for their technical knowledge and work on past projects; nevertheless, there's always respect for anyone who knows what she/he is talking about.

The only exception to this free-love, er, free software, egalitarian utopianism is

**During the 1970s, a wave of corporate ownership swept into computer programming (along with the rising tide of Microsoft), and organizations began to "copyright" software, forcing people to pay to use [software]...This went against the old hacker ethic: "information wants to be free." To protect free software against this onslaught, Richard M. Stallman created...the GNU Public License, which is essentially an "open copyright" license.**

award-winning special effects for the movie *Titanic* were created using the Linux operating system. Apache, the program that serves/delivers a majority of web pages on the Internet, is also free software, although under a different license than the GPL. Sendmail, the program that moves email from one place to another, and bind, which converts domain names to IP numbers so you type <http://eatthestate.org> instead of <http://207.207.67.91>, are all free software.

One of the most interesting things about large free software projects is how they operate. They rely on volunteer labor from people who love to create efficient and elegant systems. Another unique feature of many groups is the "flat" structure. Each group is different, but often there's little or no hierarchy—just groups of people working together. Decisions are made using a "rough consensus" model. People are free to join or

that the original creator of a project (when there is a single creator) usually becomes a *de facto* "enlightened dictator" for future versions. So, in the case of Perl, when consensus breaks down and no one can agree, they turn to Larry Wall, since he developed Perl 1.0. People believe that, if his leadership got them to Perl 5.0, he must be doing something right. (One interesting aside about Larry Wall: he's actually a linguist and missionary by trade. He wrote the programming language Perl to resemble real-world, natural language, and early on saw development of a Perl cooperative "community" as very much integral to the language.)

It's important to note that "enlightened dictators" have no real or legal control over the product (Linus Torvalds of Linux fame emphasized this during an interview with NPR). People listen to them like wise elders, because they trust their ad-



## S E L E C T I O N S

### Alternatives to Microsoft

vice. But once developers quit trusting the advice, they are free to take the code and do their own thing with it. Not coincidentally, the successful leaders are marked by their self-deprecating humor, humility, and willingness to let go of control (in other words, Bill Gates would be horrible at this—he better keep his day job).

Impressively, free software tends to be more stable, more reliable, faster, and more technically advanced than say, products made by a certain company located in Redmond, Washington. Linux won *InfoWorld's* "Product of the Year" and "Technical Support of the Year" awards last year (the latter is especially impressive, since Linux has no official technical support—just a lot of hackers on the Internet willing to help anyone out). Moreover, many (if not most) of the people who contribute to the free software movement do it for free and not for any personal financial gain.

So the next time some brain-washed idiot tells you that anarchy is utopian, egalitarianism impossible, people would rather bang each other over the head by nature, consensus decision-making is slow and disorganized, and capitalism will always produce better products than cooperative economic models, you have counter-examples to give them. Right now, the main threat to Microsoft on every front is free software (because of its superior quality), and the main threat to free software is Microsoft (because of its shrewd marketing and illegal, monopolistic behavior). This battle is going to be fun; why not join in? Its free!

For more information, check out these

websites: Linux featured on *All Things Considered*: <http://www.npr.org/programs/atc/archives/1998/980408.atc.html>; GNU ("GNU" stands for "GNU's Not Unix," a self-referential acronym): <http://www.gnu.org>; Slashdot (the watering hole for the free software movement): <http://slashdot.org>. For a good discussion that demonstrates the variety of viewpoints in the free software movement: <http://slashdot.org/features/9806080755240.shtml>.

**-bl8fra.** (Important disclosure: I work at Microsoft, but refuse to drink the coffee.)

*Editor's Note: Richard Stallman sent Eat the State the following corrections to the above article.*

I was happy to see your article about the free software movement, but I'd like to correct a few details.

The full name of our usual form of copyleft is The GNU General Public License, or GNU GPL for short. It isn't the "GNU Public License."

Linux is not really an operating system—it is the kernel, one of the essential components of a whole operating system. The operating system in which Linux is used are variants—modified developments—of the GNU system. When Linux was written, the kernel was the last major component still missing from the GNU system; putting Linux together with the not-quite-complete GNU system made a whole system.

You can help avoid confusion, and also give the GNU project recognition for its drive to make a whole free system, by using the name "GNU/Linux" to refer to

the whole system. The kernel is simply "Linux."

Please see: <http://www.gnu.org/gnu/linux-and-gnu.html> for a full explanation of the history of this.

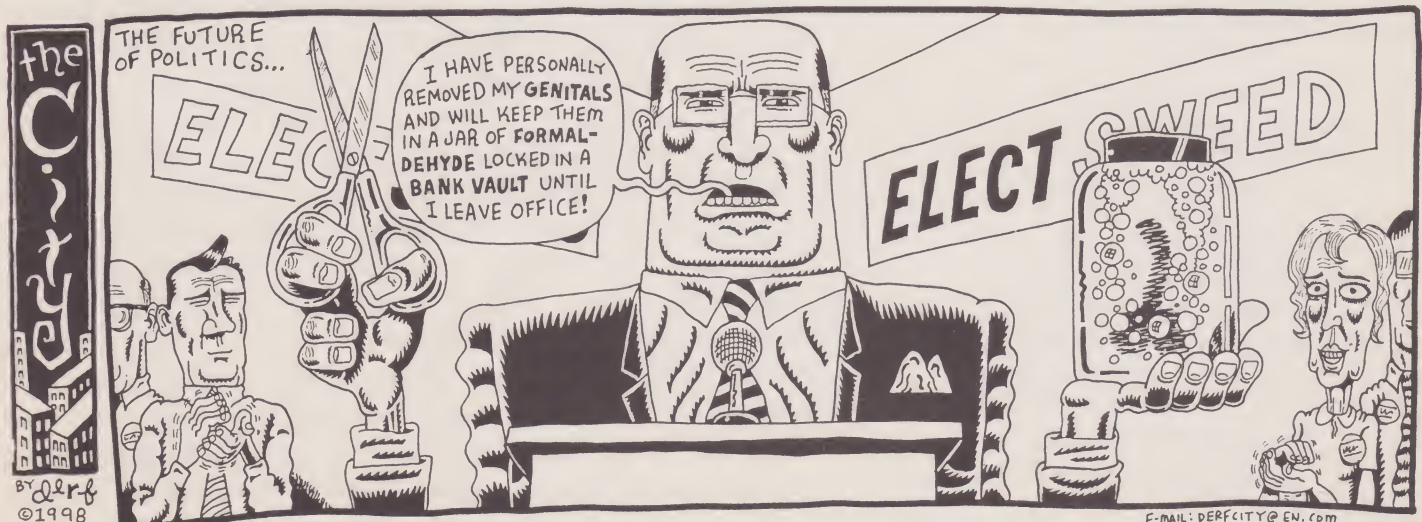
"Needless to say, RMS often is accused of being a communist (possibly true).

I'm used to occasional accusations of being a Communist, but usually this is done by people who would rather argue against Communism than against my actual views. But it's a new experience to see someone who means me well by it.

It isn't accurate, though. I work on free software to give software users freedom, which is nothing at all like Communism. I've been partly influenced by leftist Anarchism, by the idea of a world in which people voluntarily arrange to work together for the general good, but not at all by Communism.

The best way to understand and explain my views is to compare them with the environmental movement and the consumer movement. They too aim to stop certain specific business practices on the grounds that they hurt the public. When proprietary software prohibits people from working together and cooperating voluntarily, that pollutes the good will at the root of society. I want to stop this kind of pollution.

"Free Software, Anyone?" first appeared in the Volume 2, #41/June 24, 1998 issue of *Eat the State!*—a weekly, anti-authoritarian e-zine which can be found at the web site: <http://eatthestate.org>. Free e-zine subscriptions are available (just send a message to [majordomo@scn.org](mailto:majordomo@scn.org) containing the message "subscribe eat-the-state"). Subscriptions to the paper version are available for \$29/year (or \$16/6 months) from: *Eat the State!*, PO Box 85541, Seattle, WA 98145.





# Partners in Censorship: Monsanto and Fox

Sheldon Rampton & John Stauber

**B**y all accounts, Jane Akre and Steve Wilson are tough, bulldog reporters—the sort of journalists you’d expect to make some enemies along the way.

That, according to Florida TV station WTVT, was why it hired the husband-and-wife team with much fanfare in November 1996 to head the station’s “news investigative unit.” Now, in the wake of their firing barely a year later, the Fox network affiliate is accusing them of theft for daring to independently publish the script of the story that they were never allowed to air.

“This is really not about a couple of disgruntled former reporters whining that their editors wouldn’t let them do a story they thought was important,” Wilson said in announcing that he and Akre are suing WTVT for breach of contract. “Jane and I have each spent more than 20 years in the news business.... It doesn’t take that long for every reporter to learn that every now and then—usually when the special interest of your news organization or one of its friends is more important than the public interest—stories get killed. That’s bad enough, but that’s *not* what happened here.... Fox 13 didn’t want to *kill* the story revealing synthetic hormones in Florida’s milk supply. Instead, as we explain in great detail in our legal complaint, we were repeatedly ordered to go forward and broadcast demonstrably inaccurate and dishonest versions of the story. We were given those instructions after some very high-level corporate lobbying by Monsanto (the

*In “Partners in Censorship: Monsanto and Fox” Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber examine one of the many ongoing attempts by Monsanto Corporation to intimidate, censor and suppress the growing public criticism of its dangerous—but highly profitable—genetic technologies. Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber edit the quarterly **PR Watch** and are authors of *Toxic Sludge Is Good For You* and *Mad Cow U.S.A.* This essay has been reprinted from Vol. 5, # 2 of **PR Watch**, a newsletter of “Public Interest Reporting on the Public Relations Industry.” Subscriptions are \$35/year from: **PR Watch**, 3318 Gregory St., Madison, WI 53711. The **PR Watch** website is located at: [www.prwatch.org](http://www.prwatch.org)*  
Reprinted with permission.  
Copyright 1998



powerful drug company that makes the hormone) and also, we believe, by members of Florida's dairy and grocery industries."

The hormone in question is genetically-engineered recombinant bovine growth hormone (rBGH), the flagship product in Monsanto's campaign to take command of the ultra-high-stakes biotechnology industry. Injections of rBGH (sold under the brand name Posilac®) induce higher milk production in dairy cows, but critics warn of potential health risks to both cows and humans.

The Florida dispute offers a rare look inside the newsroom at the way stories get spun and censored. It also cracks the facade that Monsanto has erected through a highly effective, multi-million-dollar PR offensive aimed at preventing the news media from reporting the views of rBGH critics.

### The Dairy Coalition

Coordinated by the DC-based PR/lobby firm of Capitoline/MS&L, the pro-rBGH campaign brings together drug and dairy industry groups in an ad hoc network called the Dairy Coalition, whose participants include university researchers funded by Monsanto, as well as carefully selected "third party" experts; the International Food Information Council, an industry funded coalition that attacks health and safety concerns about food as unwarranted and unscientific; the National Association of State Departments of Agriculture, representing the top executive of every department of agriculture in all fifty states; the American Farm Bureau Federation, the powerful right-wing lobby behind the movement to pass food disparagement laws like the one under which Oprah Winfrey was sued in Texas; the American Dietetic Association, the national association of registered dietitians which hauls in large sums of money advocating for the food industry; the Grocery Manufacturers of America; the Food Marketing Institute; and other dairy and food associations at the state and regional levels.

Immediately after FDA approval of rBGH, attorneys for Monsanto sued or threatened to sue stores and dairy companies that sold milk and dairy products advertised as being free of rBGH, to



Journalists Jane Akre and Steve Wilson in front of Fox Network-owned WTVT.

make sure that any dissenters within the well-organized food industry would be frightened into toeing the industry line.

Extensive media monitoring and aggressive intervention and punishment of offending journalists has been critical to the media management campaign. As early as 1989 the PR firm of Carma International was hired to conduct a computer analysis of every story filed on rBGH, ranking reporters as friends or enemies. This information was used to reward friendly reporters while complaining to editors about those who filed reports that were deemed unfriendly.

Leaked internal documents from the Dairy Coalition reveal how journalists who do not toe the line are handled. In January of 1996 dairy officials wrote Mary Jane Wilkinson, assistant managing editor of the *Boston Globe*, to complain about an upcoming food column by *Globe* writer Linda Weltner. "On February 23rd, [Dr.] Samuel Epstein... made unsupported allegations linking milk and cancer. We're concerned that Ms. Weltner will give Epstein a forum in the *Boston Globe* to disseminate theories that have no basis in science." The letter invoked carefully cultivated contacts to smear Epstein as a scare-

monger with "no standing among his peers in the scientific community and no credibility with the leading health organizations in this country." It noted that "others in the news media who attended Epstein's press conference or reviewed his study—such as *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post*—chose not to run this 'story.'... *USA Today* was the only newspaper to print these allegations and we recently held a heated meeting with them."

Another internal dairy industry document bragged about the handling of *USA Today* health reporter Anita Manning, whose balanced article on the subject offended the rBGH lobbyists. "On Wednesday representatives of the Dairy Coalition met with reporter Anita Manning and her editor at *USA Today*. When Manning said that Epstein was a credible source, the Dairy Coalition's Dr. Wayne Callaway pointed out that Epstein has no standing among the scientific community.... When Manning insisted it was her responsibility to tell both sides of the story, Callaway said that was just a cop-out for not doing her homework. She was told that if she had attended the press conference, instead of writing the story from a press release, she would have learned that



her peers from the *Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal* and the Associated Press chose not to do the story because of the source. At this point Manning left the meeting and her editor assured the Dairy Coalition that any future stories dealing with [rBGH] and health would be closely scrutinized."

A February 1996 internal document of the Dairy Coalition notes that "The Coalition is convinced its work in educating reporters and editors at the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post* and the Associated Press led to those organizations' dismissal of Samuel Epstein's pronouncements that milk from [rBGH] supplemented cows causes breast and colon cancer. They did not run the story."

The same document brags of knocking prominent *New York Times* food reporter Marian Burros off the beat entirely: "As you may recall, the Dairy Coalition worked hard with the *New York Times* last year to keep Marian Burros, a very anti-industry reporter, from 'breaking' Samuel Epstein's claim that milk from...supplemented cows causes breast and colon cancer. She did not do the story and now the NYT health reporters are the ones on the [rBGH] beat. They do not believe Epstein. Marian Burros is not happy about the situation."

Given this climate of systematic intimidation and capitulation by news media management, the remarkable fact about the case in Florida is not that the story was killed. What makes this case unique is the dogged persistence that Akre and Wilson have shown in standing by their story.

## The Deal that Soured

Steve Wilson is an Emmy award-winning former top investigative reporter for the TV news program *Inside Edition*. His past work has produced stories that forced two recalls of faulty door latches in Chrysler minivans and exposed ABC news anchor Sam Donald-

son's moves to accept farming subsidies while criticizing them on the air. *Washington Post* media critic Howard Kurtz calls Wilson "a dogged and careful investigator" with a "high-decibel level of journalism." Jane Akre has been a reporter and news anchor for 20 years and has won a prestigious Associated

**"Monsanto hired one of the most renowned lawyers in America to use his power and influence," Wilson says. "Even though our stories had been scheduled to run, even though Fox had bought expensive radio ads to alert viewers to the story, it was abruptly cancelled on the eve of the broadcasts within hours of receiving the letter from Monsanto's lawyer."**

Press award for investigative reporting.

The couple's contract with the station stipulated that Akre would be paid \$149,500 over two years to file short investigative pieces every few days and anchor the station's weekend morning newscasts. Wilson's contract offered \$85,500 for 10 hours of work per week on larger stories that would be timed for the all-important "sweeps" rating periods.

At the time of their hiring, it seemed like a good deal for all concerned. Akre had recently given birth to the couple's first child, and Wilson hoped signing up with a local station would give him the chance to spend more time at home and less on the road. "Jane and Steve, quite frankly, were only interested in a package deal...which suited me. They're both talented individuals who happen to be married," explained news director Daniel Webster.

A few months after their hiring, however, Webster was shown the door as part of a management shakeup following a \$2.5 billion package deal in which WTVT and nine other stations were sold to the Fox network. By then, Webster had already given Wilson and Akre the editorial go-ahead for their first big investigative piece—an exposé about possible health risks of rBGH-treated

milk, which also provided solid documentation of numerous disturbing facts about Monsanto and its product:

- Posilac® was never properly tested before FDA allowed it on the market. A standard cancer test of a new human drug requires two years of testing with several hundred rats. But rBGH was tested for only 90 days on 30 rats. Worse, the study has never been published, and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration has refused to allow open scientific peer review of the study's raw data.
- Some Florida dairy herds grew sick shortly after starting rBGH treatment. One farmer, Charles Knight—who lost 75% of his herd—says that Monsanto and Monsanto-funded researchers at the University of Florida withheld from him the information that other dairy herds were suffering similar problems.
- Interviewed on camera, Florida dairy officials and scientists refuted Monsanto's claim that every truckload of milk from rBGH-treated cows is tested for excessive antibiotics.
- Also on camera, Canadian government officials described what they called an attempt at bribery by Monsanto, which offered \$1 to \$2 million to gain rBGH approval in Canada.
- A visit by Akre to seven randomly-selected Florida dairy farms found that all seven were injecting their cows with the hormone. Wilson and Akre also visited area supermarket chains, which two years previously had promised to ask their milk suppliers not to use rBGH in response to consumer concerns. In reality, store representatives admitted that they have taken no steps to assure compliance with this request.
- Finally, the story dwelt heavily on

**Continued on page 27**



# Fox & Monsanto

## Twisting the news to hide the truth

Steve Wilson

I used to think there was nothing worse than seeing a good story killed because the special interest of a news organization (or one its friends or advertisers) was more important than the public interest. I just found out the hard way that I was wrong. There is something much, much worse—and it's something that should concern all of us because as corporate owners control more and more newsrooms, it will happen again.

The investigative report produced by me and my reporting colleague Jane Akre was not killed by Fox Television. Instead, as we explain in a lawsuit we filed...Fox managers and their lawyers ordered us to distort, twist, and slant a story and threatened us with immediate dismissal if we would not broadcast material we knew to be false and misleading.

Some of you may remember I posted a note [by e-mail] asking for objective advice about what to do months ago when we were doing the same kind of soul-searching I know some of you have been through. (I couldn't identify the reporters or the news organization back then.) Most of you said, "Resist those kinds of instructions!"

As we detail in our lawsuit, when we did just that. Fox threatened to fire us within 48 hours and we were told they'd just get another reporter to do it after we were gone. When we said we'd file a formal complaint with the FCC if that happened, we were not fired but were each offered very large cash settlements to go away and keep quiet about the story and how it was handled—all of these details and written documentation including scripts, contracts, settlement offers, *everything* in our legal complaint you can read for yourself at [www.foxBGHsuit.com](http://www.foxBGHsuit.com).

**"We paid \$3 billion for these television stations, we'll decide what the news is. The news is what we tell you it is."**

-Fox General Manager

Fox managers refused to kill the story because word might leak out they bowed to pressure applied by Monsanto and the dairy and grocery industry, we explain in our suit. Monsanto directed its efforts to kill the story to former Republican operative and now-Fox News chief Roger Ailes. Then, over the course of nine months last year, we were ordered to write and re-write the scripts again and again—more than 73 times in all.

You should know there was never any claim that we or anyone working with us ever acted outside the highest ethical standards of good investigative reporting. There are no issues about trespass or hidden cameras or pretending to be somebody else to get inside information. More importantly, at no time ever was even a single error of fact found in our

reporting. We provided literally binders chock full of solid documentation to support virtually every sentence and to show how some of what we were ordered to report was demonstrably wrong. Little of that mattered as we were repeatedly told "it's not whether the facts are true, it was how they are presented"—and, as we also quoted the Fox General Manager in our lawsuit, "We paid \$3 billion for these television stations, we'll decide what the news is. The news is what we tell you it is."

After we stood up to being fired, turned down the easy money, and all those re-writes didn't wear us down, we were told we were being suspended without pay but ordered to keep re-writing scripts even though we found ourselves locked out of our offices and the computers that held much of our information. We did write those final two scripts—the honest version we wanted to report, and the version Fox insisted on telling. Both are attached to our suit and available on the web along with our objections detailed point-by-point in the Fox-mandated script.

Finally, after struggling nearly a year to tell the story fairly and honestly, we were advised we were being dismissed without cause pursuant to a window option in our contract. Fox's own lawyer contradicts that phony claim in a letter (you can also review on the web) where she writes that although Fox had the right to dismiss us without cause, "there were definite reasons for the decision that was made." She goes on to explain we were really dismissed due to our "pattern of responding to direction with rancor, argument and personal attacks on the lawyers and editors." Our legal claim is that the "rancor and argument" which ensued when we were ordered to lie on television—along with our statement to Fox management that we would complain to the FCC if the station resorted to illegal conduct in broadcasting news known to be false and misleading—those were the reasons we were ultimately fired. Fortunately, Florida has a whistle-blower law that makes that illegal.

In any event, all of us in the news business should consider that this kind of conduct by business people masquerading as journalists could well be the next step down the road to journalism nobody can trust or rely upon. These are issues that we ought to be discussing in our conferences and seminars. How will you handle a similar situation if it ever comes up? What, if anything, can be done to stop this kind of thing? And what kind of support could you expect if you put your career on the line over something like this?

Jane and I would be happy to share anything we have with any of you who want to pursue the original story we were trying to tell (our scripts are on the web) or just want to share your opinions and suggestions about any of this. We invite you to visit the web site, post a message there if you like, or contact us directly by e-mail.

Web site: [www.foxBGHsuit.com](http://www.foxBGHsuit.com)

Steve Wilson: [wilson@foxBGHsuit.com](mailto:wilson@foxBGHsuit.com)

Jane Akre: [akre@foxBGHsuit.com](mailto:akre@foxBGHsuit.com)





Collage by James Koehnline



# Heterosexual Love: *Queer families*

Annalee Newitz

In "Heterosexual Love" Annalee Newitz examines some the more conservative implications of recent films featuring gay characters—especially their attempts to incorporate relatively sexless gays into fairly traditional family structures. Annalee Newitz is a the author of the forthcoming book *When We Pretend That We're Dead: Monsters, Psychopaths, and the Economy in American Pop Culture*, and writes regularly for *New York Press*, *The San Francisco Bay Guardian*, and *Punk Planet*. "Heterosexual Love" first appeared in *Bad Subjects: Political Education for Everyday Life*, a collectively produced magazine which "discusses current issues on a large and vital Internet mailing list, and...public-access web site," and which "seeks to revitalize progressive politics in retreat." This essay has been reprinted from issue #38, May 1998, of *Bad Subjects*. You can find *Bad Subjects* on the internet at <http://eserver.org/bs>

Reprinted with permission.  
Copyright 1998 Annalee Newitz

Gazing out across some early twentieth century British estate, the esteemed cultural critic Lytton Strachey sees a group of boys playing soccer. They run to and fro, their young bodies muddy and colliding in homoerotic splendor. One in particular strikes his fancy, the loud one with blonde curls. "Ah," he intones with great satisfaction, "What a beautiful young man." But the young man, it turns out, is no man at all. He's Dora Carrington, the wild, androgynous female painter whose lifelong relationship with the utterly queer Strachey is the subject of the 1995 movie *Carrington*, one of many '90s films about heterosexual romance between people whom one would hardly wish to call "straight."

The queer tragedy of pining after oblivious heterosexuals was immortalized in movies like *The Children's Hour* (1961), *Kiss of the Spider Woman* (1985), and *Maurice* (1987); now Hollywood is exploring how this specific sort of unrequited love cuts both ways. Parodied and mourned in recent fare like *Chasing Amy* (1997), *My Best Friend's Wedding* (1997), and *The Object of My Affection* (1998), the homo-infatuated heterosexual has emerged as one of the latest heroes in the romantic genre's ongoing quest to recreate the medieval thrill of courtly love. Idealized during the Middle Ages as a passionate yet entirely chaste form of desire (usually between a knight and his king's wife), courtly love has underwritten a great deal of what counts as "romance" in centuries since. After all, it is still generally the case that we value a prolonged period of yearning and waiting in "true love," even if chastity is out



of the question. This holds for both homo- and heterosexual love—think, for instance, of the charming despair and angels-are-singing fulfillment in the ultra-queer *The Incredibly True Adventures of Two Girls in Love* (1995) and the ultra-straight *Swingers* (1996). Both indie flicks work so well as romantic tales because their protagonists must languish almost interminably before meeting The Right One and dancing off into the proverbial sunset.

But what does it mean when fuddy-duddy courtly love is coupled with super-contemporary issues like sexual identity? And why is middle-of-the-road Hollywood placing heterosexuals in the ideologically weird position of falling for sexual minorities? One might easily claim—particularly in the movies I've just mentioned—that these are actually stories about converting homosexuals into “normal” people. *Chasing Amy*, after all, has lesbian Alyssa (Joey Lauren Adams) fall happily into bed with the alterna-macho dork Holden (Ben Affleck). *Carrington* features an ambiguous sex scene between Carrington and Strachey, just as *My Best Friend's Wedding* concludes with the seriously romantic dance between Julianne (Julia Roberts) and her gay friend George (Rupert Everett). And *The Object of My Affection* depicts hero Nina (Friends pinup girl Jennifer Aniston) in a hot almost-sex scene with her gay roommate (another George, played by Paul Rudd), whose sexual orientation is literally saved by the bell: right before consummation, his ex-lover calls and derails what appears to be a blow job in the making.

So perhaps these films are reactionary heterosexual fantasies about teaching homosexuals the “true” way to love; or, more generously, liberal fantasies about having your sexual diversity cake and eating it too, letting the queers be queer unless some nice straight person actually wants to bed one. I'd wager that most of them are doing both things, with a film like *Chasing Amy*

taking the most reactionary perspective (nice boy converts lesbian), and *The Object of My Affection* (which, after all, ends with George firmly choosing his male lover over the weepy Nina) providing a liberal counterpoint.

But I think there is also a third possibility for these movies, one which helps

**It becomes clear that what's at stake is less the conversion of homo into hetero, and more the conversion of queer families into traditional ones. As critic Kath Weston has explained, the queer family is a “family we choose,” a group of close-knit friends who support and nurture each other in ways that biological families often spectacularly fail to do. Driven from their own families by prejudice, homosexuals have historically formed queer families to regain a sense of home and community that they miss.**

explain their relationship to a contemporary trend in heterosexual thought. They offer audiences a new form of sexual conservatism in which your orientation matters less than whether you choose to form a family, become monogamous, and procreate. Looking at movies like *The Object of My Affection* and *My Best Friend's Wedding* with this in mind, it becomes clear that what's at stake is less the conversion of homo into hetero, and more the conversion of queer families into traditional ones. As critic Kath Weston has explained, the queer family is a “family we choose,” a group of close-knit friends who support and nurture each other in ways that biological families often spectacularly fail to do. Driven from their own families by prejudice, homosexuals have historically formed queer families to regain a sense of home and community that they miss. But in the post-Reagan era of job mobility and “rootlessness,” the queer family has become a kind of norm for straights and gays alike. Celebrated on TV shows like *Cheers*, *Seinfeld*, and *Friends*, the friends-as-family idea is both comforting and pragmatic. When so few people have the luxury of

living near their families, we are forced to form other kinship ties. In addition, it seems that pop psychology has finally taught us that biological families are mostly dysfunctional anyway, so why would anyone want to depend on them to “be there for you,” as the *Friends* theme song says? And yet the queer family, often highly unconventional and rife with sexual ambiguity, is hardly traditional enough to qualify as having what Republicans call “family values.”

Hence the need to find socially acceptable ways of bringing homosexuals into traditional families. According to *My Best Friend's Wedding* and *The Object of My Affection*, the easiest way to do this is to reinstate chastity as the norm in adult relationships. Both films are principally concerned with intimate but non-sexual relationships between straight women

and gay men who are at the center of extended, mostly non-biological families. Abstinence in both films is romanticized, and all the most passionate, “marriage” style relationships are between platonic friends. *Object* is quite explicit about how this desexualized state of affairs is the best situation possible in which to have children. When Nina gets pregnant, she knows instinctively that her obnoxiously sexist boyfriend is the wrong father for her child, and she asks the sensitive George to help her co-parent the baby instead. George, a first grade teacher, has been longing to raise babies all his life, and falls in love with the idea of family that Nina offers him. As Nina and George's relationship develops, they accumulate a “family” which includes Nina's relatives, their spouses, and George's gay lover and friends. None of the domestic partners we meet ever have sex: George's lover lives with an older man who adores him but is just “too old”; George lives with Nina; and Nina's mother lives in a post-sexual marriage. Implicitly, the best family homes are run by celibates. In the film's afterward, which takes place six years after Nina's



child is born, we see that Nina and George's family has blossomed. Everyone has a long-term monogamous lover, everyone thinks of themselves as "family," and they've all come to watch Nina's daughter dance in the school play. "I had the most people come to see me!" the little girl exults to "Uncle George" on the way home. Of course it's great to see homosexuals treated like ordinary "family," but what kind of family is this? Elder members of the clan offer condescending, snarky comments to the younger ones; no one is allowed to have sex; gender roles are strictly enforced (women are emotionally fragile and men have jobs); and making babies becomes the source of all fulfillment. What we have is a slightly more colorful version of the Brady Bunch.

Similar sets of "happy" circumstances adorn the endings of *My Best Friend's Wedding*, and *Object's* indie precursor *The Wedding Banquet* (1993). In *Best Friend*, Julianne's family becomes her now-married best friend Michael, and her unbelievably devoted gay pal George. After she unsuccessfully attempts to woo Michael, Julianne realizes that the real pleasures in life come from platonic family bonds, and she and George dance at Michael's very traditional wedding through a sea of sparkly, bourgeois relatives. George even notes that "there may be no sex, but there is dancing." Ang Lee's *The Wedding Banquet* also carves out a niche for gay men in the traditional family by providing them with a pseudo-wedding and children. To please his highly respected family, the gay Wai-Tung throws a wedding for himself and Wei-Wei, a friend who wants to get residence in the United States. But the fake wedding ends in a drunken night of sex between Wai-Tung and the besotted Wei-Wei, who immediately gets pregnant. Wai-Tung and his lover Simon, whose charade pleases Wai-Tung's family to no end (although they know what's "really going on"), ultimately

do their duty as men and patri-archs in a traditional Chinese family.

Oddly enough, the addition of homosexuals and their queer families to the traditional family makes taboos against sexuality even more rigid. If anyone—not just biological relatives—can become your potential family member,

**Traditional families are, in essence, the locus of sexual taboo in our society: they are the first place we learn about prohibitions against homosexuality (babies are made by mom and dad), and prohibitions against incest. Blending queers into the traditional family relaxes taboos against homosexuality only to expand incest taboos to the point where one can't imagine sex except with a long-term monogamous partner. Everyone else is "family" and therefore off-limits.**

then taboos against sex are virtually forced to skyrocket. You never know when the prick of love might become the sting of incest. Traditional families are, in essence, the locus of sexual taboo in our society: they are the first place we learn about prohibitions against homosexuality (babies are made by mom and dad), and prohibitions against incest. Blending queers into the traditional family relaxes taboos against homosexuality only to expand incest taboos to the point where one can't imagine sex except with a long-term monogamous partner. Everyone else is "family" and therefore off-limits. Queer families, while not always any less dysfunctional than traditional ones, at least have the advantage of allowing for the open expression of sexual desire between adults who are not biologically related. What we get from a film like *Object* or *Wedding Banquet* is the idea that open sexual expression is always a bad idea, particularly if you want families and children. So "family values" remain, in essence, unchanged.

*Chasing Amy* is perhaps the most ideologically heinous film in this respect, in that sexual taboo-breaking

becomes the source of all social disruption. Alyssa's lesbianism is connected to her "sluttiness," which turns out to include a past episode in which she had group sex with men. Repulsed and confused by Alyssa's polymorphous perversity, Holden breaks up with her, and then rudely attempts to involve her in a mini-orgy with himself and his best friend/business partner Banky. Alyssa and Holden's family of comic book artist friends—which includes straights and gays—is torn apart by Alyssa's refusal to be sexually conservative. Had she just been a nice lesbian girl who happened to be hetero for Holden, we assume, things might have worked out. But she threatens their family with open sexual expression, which finally destroys her relationship with Holden, as well as Holden and Banky's long-term friendship.

Here we find that homosexuality is OK only so long as everyone engages in highly selective serial monogamy.

Not surprisingly, films in which we find gays and straights sharing an overtly sexual—and often non-monogamous—queer family usually end with the family's dissolution or its recombination into traditional families. *Three of Hearts* (1993), about the non-sexual roommate romance between lesbian Connie (Kelly Lynch) and straight guy Joe (William Baldwin), is emphatic about keeping its characters out of family situations. Although there is the requisite wedding sequence, in which Joe pretends to be Connie's boyfriend, it's less a celebration of family than a statement about Connie's distance from it. Joe is a gigo-lo whom she's paid to accompany her, and Connie is still madly in love with her bisexual ex-girlfriend Ellen (Sherilyn Fenn). After Joe and Connie bond over a mutual infatuation (and fornication) with Ellen, the film ends with the two living together but utterly without extended family. Ellen has left both of them, and while Connie and Joe seem happy together, they are not comfortably nestled within the kinds of



**So heterosexuals are falling in love with homosexuals because sexless relationships are the cornerstones of any family with "values." And queers are welcome into traditional families precisely because their presence actually de-escalates the possibility that people will be engaging in what was once called free love.**



*Threesome* (1994)

kinship networks formed in *Object, Best Friend*, or *Wedding Banquet*. *Carrington* ends even more tragically, with Carrington and Strachey leading bitter, unfulfilled lives at the center of a highly sexualized queer family that provides them with intellectual sustenance but little in the way of *Object's* warm fuzzies. *Threesome* (1994), a college dorm romance between a gay man and his straight male and female roommates, allows its nubile young protagonists to have group sex, but only because we understand this is a "phase" that they all grow out of as soon as they graduate into job and family.

So heterosexuals are falling in love with homosexuals because sexless relationships are the cornerstones of any family with "values." And queers are welcome into traditional families precisely because their presence actually de-escalates the possibility that people will be engaging in what was once called free love.

Certainly there's also a more utopian possibility—that these are films about heterosexuals learning to love homosexuals without trying to make them straight. Save for *Chasing Amy*, every film I've described allows its homosexuals to remain happily queer (if somewhat inexplicably over-attached to their straight friends). Straights are forced to accept the reality of homosexual love, even if they do it ungracefully and sometimes only after trying to make the homosexuals have heterosexual sex.

This even seems to be the message in the übernormal Kevin Kline vehicle *In & Out* (1997). But if these recent Hollywood heterosexuals are sacrificing a wish to make everyone straight, they are only doing it because they have a chance to absorb everyone into conservative family-driven communities where all the bad old values of sexual and social repression run rampant.

Although these movies think of themselves as "straight but not narrow" liberalizing forces, they are draining away the transformative possibilities created by radically queer families in which sexuality is treated as a part of everyday life. *The Object of My Affection*, which I believe typifies romantic comedies devoted to redefining heterosexuality, never attempts to question the way its family constrains erotic desire, reinforces gender norms, and directs us all toward child-rearing as a domestic goal. Although heterosexuals may be learning to redefine love, this is hardly a radical break-

through if we never question the problems posed by families formed under conditions not of our own choosing. Going back to traditional families—even if they include homosexuals—is a cultural step in the wrong direction.



*The Wedding Banquet* (1993)



# Partners in Censorship

continued from page 20

concerns raised by scientists such as Epstein and Consumers Union researcher Michael Hansen about potential cancer risks associated with "insulin-like growth factor-I" (IGF-1). Treatments of rBGH lead to significantly increased levels of IGF-1 in milk, and recent studies suggest IGF-1 is a powerful tumor growth promoter.

## Sudden Death

The resulting story, a four-part series, was cleared by management and scheduled to begin airing on Monday, February 24, 1997. As part of the buildup to network ratings sweeps, the story was already being heavily promoted in radio ads when an ominous letter arrived at the office of Fox News chairman Roger Ailes, the former Republican political operative who now heads Rupert Murdoch's Fox network news. The letter came from John J. Walsh, a powerful New York attorney with the firm of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft, who accused the reporters of bias and urged the network to delay the story in order to ensure "a more level playing field" for Monsanto's side of the story. "There is a lot at stake in what is going on in Florida, not only for Monsanto but also for Fox News and its owner," Walsh wrote.

"Monsanto hired one of the most renowned lawyers in America to use his power and influence," Wilson says. "Even though our stories had been scheduled to run, even though Fox had bought expensive radio ads to alert viewers to the story, it was abruptly cancelled on the eve of the broadcasts within hours of receiving the letter from Monsanto's lawyer."

Initially, the story was postponed for a week, during which station editors and lawyers fine-combed the story but could find no inaccuracies. Akre and Wilson also offered to do a further interview with Monsanto and supplied a list of topics to be discussed. In response, Walsh fired back an even more threatening letter: "It simply defies credulity that an experienced journalist would expect a representative of any company to go on camera and respond

to the vague, undetailed—and for the most part accusatory—points listed by Ms. Akre. Indeed, some of the points clearly contain the elements of defamatory statements which, if repeated in a broadcast, could lead to serious damage to Monsanto and dire consequences for Fox News."

What followed next, according to Wilson and Akre, was a grueling nightmare of perpetual delays and station-mandated rewrites—73 in all, none of which proved satisfactory to station management. "No fewer than six air-dates were set and cancelled," Wilson recalls. "In all my years as a print and radio and local and national television reporter, I've never seen anything like it."

At one point, their lawsuit claims, WTVT general manager David Boylan told them he "wasn't interested" in looking at the story himself and pressured them to follow the company lawyer's directions, adding, "Are you sure this is a hill you're willing to die on?" On another occasion, Boylan allegedly told them, "We paid \$3 billion for these television stations. We will decide what the news is. The news is what we tell you it is." Boylan then notified them they would be fired for insubordination within 48 hours and another reporter would make the requested changes.

"When we said we'd file a formal complaint with the FCC if that happened," notes Wilson, "we were not fired but were each offered very large cash settlements to go away and keep quiet about the story and how it was handled." The reporters refused the settlement, which amounted to nearly \$200,000, and ultimately were fired in December 1997.

## The Perfect Case

Notwithstanding the dramatic issues and allegations at stake for reporters everywhere, the lawsuit has generated almost no national media attention and only a few stories in the Florida press—most of which are couched in timid "he said, she said" language that is sure to please Monsanto. One editorialist could not resist putting quotation marks around the word "facts" in discussing the case: "The 'facts' at issue were as slippery as a just-milked cow.... And the lines between advocacy, truth, integrity

and insubordination thin to pencil width when an expensive lawsuit's in the offing."

"Is this an example of local TV's growing reluctance to air hard-hitting investigative news pieces?" asked Eric Deggans of the *St. Petersburg Times* before concluding that "The truth, as always, lies somewhere in the middle." After examining "the personality conflicts and lack of definitive scientific evidence" about rBGH, Deggans concludes that "Wilson's and Akre's case may not be the perfect example to illustrate the trend of increasingly irrelevant reporting in TV news."

Actually, the case is a perfect example to illustrate that trend. In fact, Deggans's response to the case shows how corporate interests have succeeded in dramatically shifting the terms of acceptability in journalistic discourse.

Good journalism—in particular, good *investigative* journalism—is almost always controversial and accompanied by "personality conflicts." In dealing with technologically novel products like genetically-engineered hormones, "lack of definitive scientific evidence" is part of what makes the story controversial.

"Is there smoking-gun, iron-clad evidence available today that drinking milk from hormone-treated cows will lead to cancer in you or your children?" asks Wilson. "No. Many scientists will tell you because this is a drug injected into animals and not directly into humans the testing of its effects on milk-drinkers has never been thorough enough to know for sure. But ask yourselves this: how long did it take us all to learn about the effects of tobacco while the special interests insisted there was no evidence of any harm? Was it wrong to raise those issues before the link was indisputable? Or how about Agent Orange, dioxin, PCBs—all Monsanto products, by the way, all approved by the government, sworn by Monsanto to be safe. Was it wrong to raise those issues before we knew for certain?"

In reality, journalistic reluctance to discuss hypothetical, as-yet unproven health risks is driven more by fear of corporate lawsuits than by a desire to be "responsible." One such lawsuit by the Food Lion grocery store chain resulted in a \$5.5 million judgment against ABC-TV in January 1997—just

Continued on page 62





Al Lewis in his signature role as Grandpa Munster, along with actor Fred Gwynne in *The Munsters* TV show.



# An Interview with Al Lewis

## The many faces of Grandpa Munster

*The Shadow*

Y

ou may know him best as Grandpa Munster on *The Munsters* TV show, or as Officer Schnauzer on *Car 54, Where Are You?* I remember seeing Al Lewis in countless parts on almost every TV show

I watched in the 1970s and '80s, from *Lost In Space* to *The Night Stalker* to *Here's Lucy* to *Taxi*, not to mention movies like *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* and *They Might Be Giants*. I've always enjoyed his performances, whether comedic or dramatic (he was fucking hilarious in the *Taxi* episode!) In recent months though, we've discovered that there's a lot more to Al Lewis than just playing TV and movie roles. Besides being a Talmudic scholar, Al Lewis has devoted his life to social and political activism from the 1930s through the present. Now at 87 years of age, Al Lewis has settled back in New York City, where he shares his insights, his razor sharp wit and viewpoints with a receptive audience on his *Al Lewis Live* radio show on listener-supported WBAI (Saturdays at noon, on 99.5 FM.), when he's not making movies.

**Shadow:** *It's only recently that we found out there's more to Al Lewis than most people think.*

**Al Lewis:** There's more to anybody. Just because you haven't noticed it, that's your problem, not mine.

*Where did you grow up?*

Upstate New York near the Canadian border, on a farm.

*When did you first come to New York City?*

Best known as Grandpa Munster from the 1960s television show "The Munsters," Al Lewis talks about his acting career, his life-long involvement in social and political activism, and his thoughts on today's crop of radical activists in this entertaining and funny interview reprinted from issue #43 of *The Shadow*, an anarchist newspaper from New York City. Subscriptions are \$10/10 issues from: *The Shadow*, POB 20298, New York, NY 10009.

Reprinted with permission.  
Anticopyright 1998



About 1924. I lived in Brooklyn, Manhattan, never lived in Queens, never lived in the Bronx.

*When did you start getting involved in show business?*

1923.

*How old were you at the time?*

13-14. I was born April 30, 1910.

*Was this the stage or vaudeville?*

No, it was in the circus. I worked about eight and a half years in three different circuses—Barnum and Bailey, Cole Brothers' Circus, and Clyde Beatty.

*What did you do?*

I started out as a roustabout, cleaning up—elephants are vegetarians and leave a lot to be desired and I was the guy who was shoveling the "lot to be desired." And then I worked myself up into a clown and did a trick unicycle act and a trapeze act. I did anything to make a living.

*We did a little reading up on your career...*

Where was that? In *Screw* magazine?

*We found out that you were on Broadway for a while.*

Oh yes, I probably worked every single entertainment medium, including some that don't exist. I worked the circus, carnival, I had my own medicine show, I worked 18 years of radio.

*What kind of medicine did you sell?*

Whatever I made. I made it in a bathtub.

*What was it good for?*

Whatever ailed you. I probably kept your grandfather alive. That's why you're here.

*What was it called?*

Various times, different things—"The Professor"—"Little Alfie," I used to be called. Made it in the bathtub the night before, bottled it, put a label on it and sold it the following day in town.

*In New York City?*

No, no, no, all through the south. That was in the south.

*Did you have any experience during Prohibition?*

Did I sell whiskey?

*Medicines very often had alcohol in them.*

No, that came only later. You read the wrong things; you don't know American history. The United States, per capita, at a certain period in its history, had the most junkies of any country ever in the world. That was right after the Civil War. The most brutal war, the greatest amount of casualties that

America's ever had. We fought each other. And cocaine came on the scene at that time as a pain-killer. It was so prevalent that if you had a five-year-old son, you could send him to the drugstore with fifty cents and he'd bring back a bottle, a tincture of cocaine. It was sold that prevalently. It was also the basis of the original Coca-Cola, where they made their fortune. Then in 1919, they passed the Harrison Act, where they made cocaine illegal, so the OTC, the "over-the-counter drugs," the base became alcohol.

*At what point did you go*

*from the circus to Broadway?*

From the circus I went to carnival, and then drifted into medicine shows. First I went out with somebody, then I had my own. Then I started in radio in Chicago at WGN, which was then and still is, the largest radio station in the Midwest, owned by the *Chicago Tribune*. And after a couple of years, I came to the big time radio in New York. That's when radio was king, there was no television. Most young people think television was around during the cave man days, but that's a "Johnny-Come-Lately," television. That was big time, radio in New York. The 1930s, I worked in soap operas. The largest sponsor was P&G, Proctor and Gamble. That's where the term "soap opera" comes from. And then television came around, the old Dumont Network, days of live television. I worked live television, plays, Broadway, Off-Broadway, films. Do what you got to do. Still do. The old mule still pulls the wagon. Not as fast, but still pulls it, gets it home.

*If you had to choose, what are your favorite memories of radio shows or TV shows that you were involved with?*

I don't deal with memorabilia. I have no nostalgia items, I don't keep anything.

*Anything that comes to mind? Any favorite experiences?*

Just anything where I can work in front of an audience. So I prefer a circus, a medicine show, vaudeville, burlesque. I prefer that for my own satisfaction over radio, there's no



audience. TV, there's no audience. I need the response of the audience, even if it's a silent response.

*That sort of show business is pretty much gone nowadays. There isn't too much of that left.*

That's your loss, not mine. I did it. (Laughs)

*Back in the 1930s, there was a lot of political activity going on. A lot of labor demonstrations, strikes, the organization of the CIO. Were you involved in any of that?*

Yup, yeah, Scottsboro, Tom Mooney, Warren K. Billings. I was an organizer in the Food, Agricultural and Tobacco Workers Union down in North Carolina.

*You worked in that industry?*

No, no, I accepted a challenge. The industry I worked in just before the war, World War II, was the National Maritime Union.

*You were a seaman?*

Yup, yup. The late '30s and then into the war. I was torpedoed twice, once in the Mediterranean and once off Murmansk.

*You were carrying goods to the Soviet Union?*

Like 600 other sea ships in a convoy. You never knew what you carried. You could have been carrying potatoes, which of course we weren't, or you could have been carrying explosives. And you saw those ships go up. Boy, Coney Island never had fireworks like that. And all those men died. In a convoy, you had 200-300 Victory Ships. Henry J. Kaiser made millions on those. And if you saw guys swimming in the water, you never stopped to pick them up. You let them die there. Because of the submarines. You could be a target. You'd look out the port hole and see these guys screaming for help, covered with oil, or they're on fire. "Later Jack, later!"

*Did you ever have to abandon ship?*

Sure, in the Mediterranean and in Murmansk, the ship was sunk. You don't know what it's like to be in the middle of the Atlantic ocean. There is no more lonely feeling. You see nothing, nothing, nothing. And there comes the British Corvettes—"bwoop, bwoop, bwoop"—them fuckers, they didn't give a shit about the few of us that were in the water. They were circling and dropping the ashcans looking for the German U-boats. And we were screaming "You motherfuckers!" And they finally pulled us in. And then in

Murmansk, the Yops, Russian planes, spotted us and a Russian trawler. All women manned the ships, pulled us out of the water and took us to the hospital.

*What was it like being a labor organizer in the 1930s?*

Depends where you were. In the South? You faced death at any moment.

*The Ku Klux Klan?...*

You'd get shot at. Not the Ku Klux Klan—the poor people there who had no jobs. They were hired by the boss, they gave them a gun—"You see this son of a bitch? Blow his head off."

*What industry was this?*

Food, Agricultural, Tobacco Workers Union. Fayetteville, North Carolina.

*What about the National Maritime Union? What was it like organizing among seamen back in those days?*

You were more on home ground on the port than organizing in

the south, even to this day. Even John L. Lewis, who organized the United Mine Workers. He didn't get very many Southern mine workers. American history—people don't know it. You know who his organizers were? Communists from the North. He writes about it. Went down south to Harlan County Kentucky, Hazard Kentucky. Many of them got blown away. Just step off the train, they blow your head off. You don't know what fear is. (Laughs)

*So what kept you going?*

Who knows? I don't know. Maybe stupidity! (Laughs) He [John L. Lewis] was smart enough. He wasn't interested in their politics, whether they supported Russia and Stalin, nothin'—"I gotta get this local organized." He got Communists, young men from the north, and many of them paid with their lives.

*So what motivated you, what politicized your life? Some people say they want to make a lot of money, other people say "I'm gonna change the world," other people say "I don't give a shit about anybody..."*

Those are full of shit statements. That's shit. What motivated me? My mother. My mother was an immigrant woman, a peasant woman, struggled all her life, worked in the garment center. Understood what the struggle was about. My mother. Couldn't read or write, but she had more sense than many a graduate from Harvard.

*Was she also an organizer?*



No, my mother was a worker, a floor lady, a shop lady in the garment center here in New York.

*So when did you start becoming political, when did you start becoming in touch with things going on in the world?*

I guess having been in my mother's household I was probably political at five or six. I don't know what you mean—what is "political?" It's all bullshit terminology. You're aware of bread and butter issues. How could I not be aware during the Depression that people were starving? And I was helping my mother sell apples. How could I not be aware? Forget that philosophical bullshit terminology, "you become aware." It hits you in the stomach and then a cop hits you on the head (laughs)—you become aware!

*So what was the first political activity that you were ever involved with?*

I don't know. Probably when I shit on the grass in Prospect Park, I don't know. I don't know what that means. What is a political activity? What does it mean?

*The first demonstration, for instance?*

I was very young. My mother used to take me to Mayday parades. That was big in New York. It used to culminate in the old Union Square, not the shit they have now, where they've built it so you can't have a demonstration. But they used to have a hundred thousand people there in Union Square Park. I remember my mother used to go on the parades for the Scottsboro boys. Those guys were arrested in Alabama on the testimony of two prostitutes—we struggled to free them. I remember participating in demonstrations, and Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, the so-called bombing of the "Preparedness Day Parade." And then during the Depression, people were getting evicted, ten a day. We used to come along and break the lock and put the furniture back in again. We would storm the Home Relief Centers [what the Welfare offices were called then -Ed.], that or this person didn't get a check for eight dollars or something, and get hit on the head.

*In the demonstrations back in those days were there ever problems with the police? Did they try to attack people?*

Did you just come to this country? (Laughs) What are you talking about? The police are here to protect property. They're not here to protect the public! So, what the fuck are you asking me? Of course! Name me a period when the police...(laughs)

*So these demonstrations for Tom Mooney, and labor demonstrations....*

Warren K. Billings, organizing the CIO, and District 65, and

the UE, and NMU. All that was going on and the police were there to see that you didn't do it. And if they could get away with it, they'd beat the shit out of you.

*And people would resist?*

Well obviously. And unions were created. We used to have a saying: "If you don't get the asses of the masses out in the street, forget it." And you get enough of them out there, the ruling class gets scared. That's the only thing they're afraid of, is numbers. Numbers! See, one thing you have to understand. There's very few people who understand, especially people who deal in out-law newspapers and magazines. The ruling class is smarter than you, and they're more creative. And if you forget that lesson, you go down the drain. Because if they weren't, they wouldn't be around as long as they have been and as strong as they have been. It's not an accident. Not an accident. Never underestimate your opponent. They'll tell you that if you're a fighter. Never underestimate. You can poke fun at 'em, you can do satire, but they work 24 hours a day. It's like Lord Acton said: "Power corrupts; absolute power corrupts absolutely." I say that power works 24 hours to remain in power. Throughout history. Go back to kings, feudal times. The same thing. While you and I, here we're bullshitting, and then we go



Lewis playing Officer Schnauzer in *Car 54 Where Are You?*

out: "Tompkins Square, blah, blah, blah...." Their fucking machine works 24 hours a day, man. It grinds, it grinds. Otherwise they don't stay in power, they topple.

*So what do you think people can do in response to that power? What do you think we have to do?*

First of all, (laughs) you have to agree that these people shouldn't have the power. Go on Eighth Avenue and 35th Street and ask what the junkies do. They're looking for a fix. What do they do? You see, a junkie once told me an unanswerable question. He said: "I take this junk so the shit that's in front of me and the shit that I smell disappears. What are you gonna replace it with?" What do you replace it with? A tract? "Jesus loves you?" What? "Socialism is your answer?" The guy's looking for \$15 to hit you and I on the head with a lead pipe to meet the man to get the fix. I have no answer for that. He has to find that answer. I can deal with somebody who's not in that kind of position and try to talk, and I do the best I can. You see, the thing is, and I don't mean this in a denigrating way, but you're "Johnny-Come-Latelies." Like in the Sixties, there was a thousand underground papers. I read them all. I used to have them all sent to me in California. Everybody in this society wants the quick fix, like the junkie that we just talked about. So do the



radicals, whatever you want to call them, a bumper sticker. Put it on your car. "I'm a radical," "I'm a lefty," "I'm a progressive," "I'm left of center." It's all bullshit. I learned a long time ago—I've been in the struggle over seventy years—it doesn't bother me I may not win.

*So what keeps you going?*

What keeps me going? My belief! (Laughs) You see, what happens with you "Johnny-Come-Latelies"—and I'm not personalizing—is like you take people of the Sixties. After five or ten years, they didn't get the victory, "Oh, fuck it, man, I'll take this job down on Wall Street and make the fuckin' money. I didn't get the immediate fix." See, the junkie is better off than them. He gets the fix. As long as he's got the bread, he gets the fix. "We didn't win!" America only knows the "win."

*But what do you think about the people of the Sixties who didn't go along with that but made money and used it for good purposes?*

I haven't found that species. (Laughs)

*There are some interesting characters, like the George Soros types....*

Ah, bullshit. Everything he gives away is tax deductible. I'm too fuckin' old for that shit, man! That's like Ted Turner giving away a billion dollars. You know how much he winds up giving away? About a hundred million dollars. All the rest he deducts from his taxes. You know who gives it away? You and I are giving it away. Otherwise, we'd be taking his tax money.

*What's your formula for changing the world, for improving things?*

I don't know what that means; that's all bullshit. Life is specific. Even if you're not political, that's political! You can't shoot buckshot. You wanna be a millionaire? Fine! Put on the blinders, like a fucking horse. If you shoot buckshot, you gotta go for the target.

*Let's say we're talking about specific issues: police torturing people in police precincts, or people being evicted from housing, or gardens on the Lower East Side being bulldozed and replaced by condominiums. We put out a newspaper to try and convince people that things like that are not in their interest. Do you think the alternative press is a valuable counterweight to the mainstream press?*

Everything is viable. But don't expect results.

*Maybe we're being naive, but maybe we serve some purpose....*

There's nothing wrong with being naive. But, after doing x amount of time or years, don't throw your hands up in the air, because, you see, everybody wants the "the win," they want it today. It doesn't happen. The struggle goes on. The victory is in the struggle, for me. And I accepted that a long time ago. You write about police brutality. Go back to 1909, you'll see about police brutality (laughs), it's not something new. People don't really understand their role in society. I'll take this where your newspaper goes: the destruction of the gardens. And they're gonna be destroyed, there's no question about it. The powers that be have so convinced the mass of people—"Fuck the gardens, those fucking freaky people carrying that horse shit and fertilizer. A building is more beautiful than a fuckin' flower"—you have to say the mass of

people are bought. The day that they attempt to bulldoze the first garden, if ten thousand people are standing there, the garden will never be bulldozed. You have to understand, the power structure and the errand boys, the guys who carry the bedpans for the power structure, the politicians, councilmen, congressmen, senators, whatever, they only understand one thing: numbers. It's numbers of voters. You get fifty people out, "Fuck 'em. Get the local precinct, hit 'em on the fucking head." Get ten thousand people out? God, that's four hundred cameras, it's all over European television. Scary. Numbers are scary. Your problem is to get ten thousand people out on the street the first time they go to bulldoze that garden. And you won't. But that's not a defeat. Because all you can do, all I can do, is, I do a show, I influence those people. Hopefully they'll carry that message forward. That's all I can do. I don't own a newspaper, I don't own a radio station. That's it. I don't feel bad about that. I understand the limitations. I fight against them, I stretch 'em out. I'm not out to save the world.

*So you're doing what you can....*

Yeah! To make things better for people. I've said, these politicians that switched to [NYC Mayor Rudolph] Giuliani, they're all gonna get paid off. Read American history, Tammany Hall, Boss Tweed. You can't be stupid about where you live! I'm for everyone having the opportunity to accept a \$150,000 bribe. That's what I'm fighting for! Why should they be the only guys getting that money?





Lewis at a recent performance.

*So, what do you think of this [mayoral] election between Giuliani and [Ruth] Messinger?*

Hey, you're the guy whose got the newspaper. You tell me. I'll tell you why: 'cause you haven't convinced enough people. How do you like that? Ya wanna carry that rock on your head?

*Are there any good politicians that you've run into recently?*

In the cemetery? H.L. Mencken said: "Looking for an honest politician is like looking for an ethical burglar."

*In the 1950s, in the early days of television, did you ever have any problems with the McCarthyites? The Blacklist?*

If I did, I certainly wouldn't have known of it. They didn't advertise it. See, it was strongest in film, and in that period I didn't work in film. Big studios, that's where it took its heaviest toll. In radio, only on a few biggies. But I did hundreds of radio shows and I was just a voice. I was not identified. I was not a "biggie." You knock off a biggie, you set an example, so everybody else will run scared.

*So during that period you continued to go to demonstrations and all that and you were not prevented from working?*

Yeah, oh yeah, I don't give a fuck. And if I was [blacklisted], how would I know? The guy didn't send me a mail that said "We're not hiring you for this because you were at a demonstration." What did I lose? A job? So big fucking deal. I'd get another job. (Laughs) What's the big deal? What are they offering me? Life? I'm signing a contract, I'm gonna live 300 years? I don't have an ego. All I wanted to do was to be able to work. I didn't want to become famous or wealthy. Those are byproducts. I never thought in that direction.

*Were there any particular roles or shows that motivated you more than others?*

I've turned down a few roles. I've never taken a role that demeans people. I just don't do it. What do you lose? A job? Big fucking deal! Whatever you see me in, I'm not responsible for the script. I'm only responsible for what I do. That's it. I got the wagon home on time. That's it. I don't get involved in it. I'm an actor. That's it.

*Everything I've seen you in has been in good taste, well-rounded....*

You can say that or you can say I did it in good taste. (Laughs) Look, you only go around once. You give it your best shot. You guys, who knows what you'll be doing five years, not even ten years from now? Chances are, in ten years that paper [*the Shadow*] won't exist. There's a long history of underground outlaw papers—the *Berkeley Barb*, the *Rat* here, which was very popular in the Sixties. They lost their audience. Ten years is a long time for an outlaw newspaper. As long as you gave it your best shot, even if in the opinion of others

"you failed," you didn't fail.

*What did you think as a middle-aged man about the youth and free love culture popping up in the Sixties?*

I went to all the Love-Ins. I took my kids. I enjoyed myself.

*That was around the time that you were doing the Munsters, wasn't it? So people recognized you as Grandpa Munster.*

Sure, absolutely. In California in that period, the estimate was that there were at least half a million runaways from the age of eight on, drifting to California. Every Friday I used to have about fifty, sixty kids who would wait for me on Sunset Boulevard and I'd take them all to dinner. All runaways. That's how I met Charlie Manson. He wanted to be in the music business. He babysat my three kids. He didn't chop no heads off, he was very nice with me. I met him in front the Whiskey-A-Go-Go on Sunset Boulevard. He sat for four or five hours, he amused the kids, he brought the guitar and he played, no big deal, no sweat.

*Did you know any Sixties musicians, performers or anyone like that?*

Did I go out of my way to meet any performers? I'm more important to me than any body you can mention. Do you know that? Yeah, I met the Beatles, you name them, ain't no big fuckin' deal. They couldn't get a hotel to put them up, so Universal studios was encased with a wall, with their own police and firemen. We stayed in a bungalow, and one of them stayed in mine. I met Bobby Darin, you name them. Naturally, I'm in the business!

*So after a lot of years in California, you decided to come back to New York?*



I came back to New York to do a film in Toronto, my wife was doing a show in Massachusetts. I had a couple of ideas and opened up a restaurant on Bleecker Street, a comedy club on Staten Island—still there seven, eight years. [Both establishments named "Grandpa's" -Ed.]

*It seems like you don't mind using that tag [Grandpa]....*

Why would I mind? It pays my mortgage. And if I did mind, what could I do about it? I created a character. You see, I'm a lot smarter than the people who interview me. I'm very serious now. I created a character that people love. You follow me around and you will see total strangers greet me. Junkies, Wall Street types. That was not my aim. I played a cantankerous persnickety old man who enjoys screwing everybody up, and people love that. That's how it turned out.

*How much of Grandpa Munster was Al Lewis and how much of Al Lewis was Grandpa Munster?*

Everything. There's a part of me in everything. *Car 54's Schnauzer* is a part of me. I can't do you. It's a composite, a collage of my whole life. It's Al Lewis. I always say, "You hire Al Lewis, you get the whole Al Lewis." He's loud, he's opinionated, he smokes terrible cigars, that's it. I can't be and I'm not going to attempt to be what someone thinks I should be. That's the road to hell. Like they used to say uptown, "Don't sing that song, I don't know the lyrics."

*What do you think about the idea of squatting?*

I think people need housing. And there's empty buildings, I think people should live in there. If you want to call them squatters, trespassers, hey, I call Wall Street thieves! Oscar Wilde said the rich and the poor are equal—they can both sleep under the bridge. Right? (Laughs). Do they have a right? You're damn right they have a right! And the police, because they are hired by the property owners, have the right to hit them on the head and throw 'em out. That's the society, that's how it's organized. You and I might not like it, but that's what they're here for. They're not here to prevent the city or the owner of the building to throw them out, they're there to hit the guys on the head and throw them out. (Playing a cop) "Hey, I'm doing a job, man, I've got a family, you know, my kids gotta go to camp." I get one or two cops who call me on the show [on WBAI-FM] and I discuss with them and there's many points that we can agree on. And the more points you can agree on, the points that day you disagree on, they may not a week from now. That's the lesson you learn.

*Of course, you played Schnauzer, a police man. What do you think of that role, playing a policeman?*

I never thought about it, I just did it. Cops love it. I've



Al Lewis on radio at WBAI-FM on Saturdays at noon.

played so many going away parties and retirement parties. I used to do a yearly show at the Trenton War Memorial Auditorium for the New Jersey State police, and the next time they would see me on a picket line. (Playing a cop) "Hey, what are you doing there?"

*What's your secret for success, for a long, healthy, happy life?*

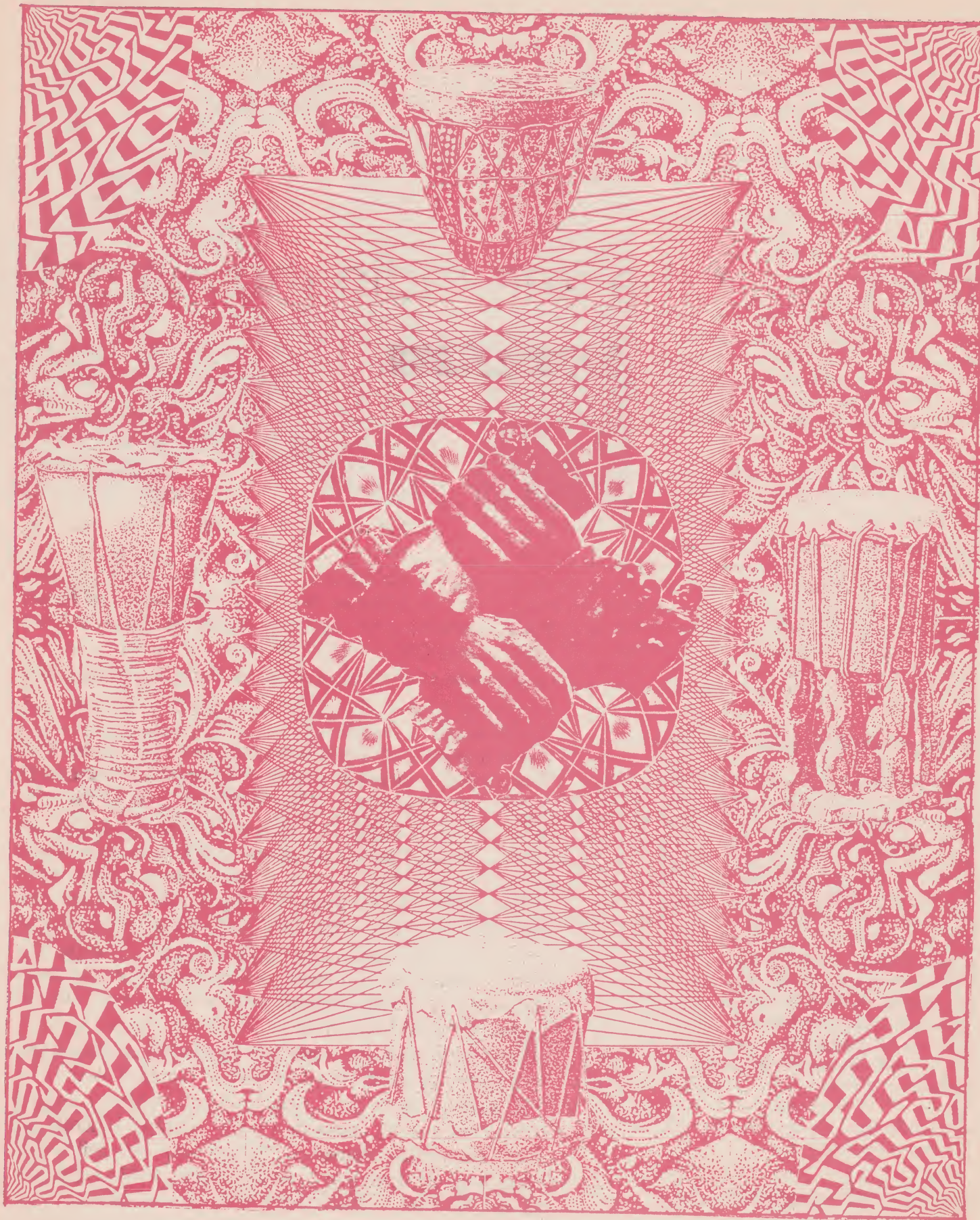
My secret for success? I don't know what the hell success means. (Laughs) I'll tell you what my secret is. It took me a long time to find this out. Find something that you absolutely love to do. Not you like it, or it's pleasant, something that you absolutely love to do. And along the way, if you're lucky, get to love the way you do it. Then you're home free. And you're looking at a man right now. I got a spine made out of stainless steel. Nothing shrinks it, nothing, nothing. Because I know who I am. I don't have to brag. I know what I contributed. I know what I did. You think you can do it better? Hey, go right ahead. The stage is yours. But find something that you absolutely love doing. And then get to love the way you do it. That's the uniqueness of all of us. That's it. Albert Einstein, one of my favorites, said: "Imagination is more important than knowledge." And if that cat say it, it's good enough for me.

*So, getting back to your show business career, when did you first act in a Broadway play?*

In the '30s, Olson and Johnson, *Helzapoppin*, I forget exactly the year. The last thing I did on Broadway was a musical called *Do Re Mi* at the St. James Theater from 1960 to 1962 with Phil Silvers, Nancy Walker, George Matthews. I have an old brain but a terrific memory.

Continued on page 63





James Koehnline



# Frequencies of Resistance:

the rise of the free radio movement

Ron Sakolsky

W

hat do the U.S. cities of Watsonville, Salinas and Berkeley in California and Springfield, Illinois have in league with Chiapas, Mexico and the island of Haiti?

I'm not referring to some insipid Sister Cities Project masterminded by economic development honchos, Yahoo civic boosters or public relations flaks, but to a grassroots mutual aid project presently taking shape in the cracks of the New World Order.

It is a story that began ten years ago at the John Hay Homes public housing project in Springfield. Sometimes it seems there is a federal law that each state in the U.S. will have a Springfield. It is that generic All-American city where *The Simpsons* takes place, and before that *Father Knows Best*; so while situation comedy fathers change their stripe, from lovable patriarchs to darker Homeresque bumbler, Springfield the town remains at the center of the action. Springfield, Illinois prides itself on being the final resting place of former resident Abraham Lincoln—the mythical Great Emancipator who contrary to his exalted folklore status in fact considered the “white race” superior and freed the slaves in a calculated military move to disrupt the Southern war effort in the Civil War.

In spite of these facts, readily ascertainable by anyone willing to look for them in a public library, Lincoln has been historically deified as some kind of civil rights champion. In actuality, Lincoln's Springfield today is a barely Northern plantation town where subtly racist Republican pols ceremoniously make the pilgrimage to the

In “Frequencies of Resistance” Ron Sakolsky recounts the early history of the recent wave of radio activism in the United States, from WTRA in Springfield, Illinois to Free Radio Berkeley in California. Ron Sakolsky is co-editor, with Stephen Dunifer, of the essential new anthology *Seizing the Airwaves: A Free Radio Handbook*, and was previously co-editor of another important anthology of North American primitivism, *Gone to Croatan*. This essay has been reprinted from *Seizing the Airwaves*, published by and available from: AK Press, POB 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140-0682, and POB 12766, Edinburgh, EH8 9YE, Scotland. (\$12.95/£8.95 paperback) The AK Press website is located at: [www.akpress.org](http://www.akpress.org)

Reprinted with permission.  
Copyright 1998



bust at his gravesite to ritually rub his by now very shiny nose for good luck before going into battle each election year, and where the Lincoln Cab Company recently was cited for routinely and unashamedly posting a notice in the dayroom instructing its cabdrivers not to pick up black male passengers. While the latter revelation was cause for public chagrin to the town's tourist industry, it certainly must have come as no surprise to the smug Babbitts, arro-

hood revitalization," this now newly available prime real estate will be divided up in what Mbanna calls a "land grab" among such institutional power wielders as: St. John's Hospital, the Illinois Department of Corrections, City Water Light and Power, the University of Illinois at Springfield and, of course, Lincolnland Community College. While this scam is politely labeled economic development by Springfield's *State Journal Register* newspaper, the image

doing everything from being the only local media voice that opposed the Gulf War to using their police scanner to give out the locations of local cops during the Mayday uprising at the Hay Homes which occurred around the time of the Rodney King verdict—all these spoken words churning in a dynamic mix of conscious hip hop and reggae. It is here in Springfield that the micropower radio movement that has shaken the foundations of the multina-

**In the United States, in response to the government carrot of licensing status and the stick of antipiracy crackdowns, many once adventurous community radio stations have toned down their oppositional elements and have consciously or reflexively become engaged in a process of self-censorship. One signpost pointing to a road leading in a different direction is the micropower movement, originating not on a college campus or in a university-based community..., but in the heart of the black ghetto.**

gant political insiders, and crass developers who run city politricks, their pretensions to grandeur notwithstanding. As to the cab company, the initial defensiveness of their "so what" reaction was later toned down, but only under pressure from the powers that be to maintain the sanctified Lincoln image unblemished in theory if not in practice. As to the block which is the site of Lincoln's home, it is now primarily known for being the center of the downtown prostitution trade.

Yet out of this sleepy nexus of everyday Midwestern racist hypocrisy and proud xenophobic ignorance, where if you're a liberal you're considered radical and if you're radical you're considered crazy and not suitable for prime time; also come Mbanna and Dia Kantako. Since 1986, they have operated a micropower radio transmitter out of their apartment in open defiance of the FCC. The housing project in which they were originally situated is now demolished. In the guise of "neighbor-

hood revitalization," this now newly available prime real estate will be divided up in what Mbanna calls a "land grab" among such institutional power wielders as: St. John's Hospital, the Illinois Department of Corrections, City Water Light and Power, the University of Illinois at Springfield and, of course, Lincolnland Community College. While this scam is politely labeled economic development by Springfield's *State Journal Register* newspaper, the image of pigs at a trough comes more readily to mind. Nevertheless, even before the scheduled demolition the Kantakos vowed to continue their culture jamming efforts at whatever new address they found themselves in the future. After several months spent as the last tenants left in the projects—in order to document the dispersal of their community on the radio—they finally moved their eight watt transmitter to a new location in March of 1997. The station was off the air for only 90 minutes before they set it up again upstairs at a new apartment on Springfield's near Northside only a few blocks from its original location in the projects. As the Kantakos see it, the speed of that move clearly demonstrates the simplicity and adaptability of micropower technology.

Over the years, the programming has consisted of direct phone interviews with everyone from local police brutality victims to Noam Chomsky; a nightly grassroots deconstruction of the Six O'clock News; and, in special situations,

tional corporate media empire originated, beaming its then "one watt of truth" from the Hay Homes deep within the belly of the beast out to a network of radio rebels who have been inspired by the Kantakos' model of radical community radio.

The station was originally called WTRA (after the Tenants Rights Association which spawned it), then Zoom Black Magic Liberation Radio, then later Black Liberation Radio, African Liberation Radio, and now Human Rights Radio; names which increasingly reflect its combined global consciousness and neighborhood-based reality. As Mbanna Kantako sees it, the FCC doesn't speak to the human rights of Springfield's African American community. He says, "We weren't around when they made those laws about licensing...We were sitting in the back of the bus somewhere. So why should we be responsible to obey laws that oppress us." The emphasis is now on human rather than civil rights. As



Kantako puts it, "It's about getting this government to cease waging war against our people so that we can exercise the rights to live and be free given to us at birth by the Creator. You get your human rights by accepting your human responsibilities. Human rights is the basis for understanding why you exist. This country says we exist to serve the corporate state. That's a goddamn lie!"

In the United States, in response to the government carrot of licensing

macy of the local black bourgeoisie who claimed to represent them in an historic voting rights lawsuit then pending and which eventually replaced Springfield's commission form of government with an aldermanic one. They then opposed an ordinance sponsored by their newly elected black alderman which involved the purchase of scab coal from a Shell-owned mine which violated an anti-apartheid boycott on Shell in response to its South African holdings, and polit-

outreach, featured a professionalized model of radio programming, and was strictly legal.

In contrast, WTRA (as the station came to be called) was based on a decentralized model, had a symbiotic relationship to its community with no official membership base and no national ties, was low watt, disdained professional trappings, and was not only illegal in the eyes of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), but

**Kantako is calling the FCC's bluff by demanding that the government pay more than just lip service to the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech and the 14th Amendment, which provides equal protection under the law. In terms of the latter, while blacks compose 12 percent of the nation's population, they only own two percent its radio stations for an exclusion rate of 600 percent, which is even more dramatically high if class and gender are brought into the picture.**

status and the stick of antipiracy crack-downs, many once adventurous community radio stations have toned down their oppositional elements and have consciously or reflexively become engaged in a process of self-censorship. One signpost pointing to a road leading in a different direction is the micropower movement, originating not on a college campus or in a university-based community like many of the National Federation of Community Broadcaster (NFCB) stations, but in the heart of the black ghetto.

During the mid-eighties, the John Hay Tenants Rights Association (TRA) was formed to do issue-based, neighborhood organizing. Focusing first on expressway opposition and related school traffic safety issues, it then moved to the issue of the inadequate representation of the Eastside community under the archaic commission form of government. The TRA called instead for community control, opposed school busing, and even challenged the legiti-

matically skewed the alderman's plan for a weak-kneed civilian review board for the police, proposing instead a much stronger one modeled, as if in premonition of future solidarity, on that of Berkeley, California.

Angered and dismayed by media coverage of these actions and organizing campaigns, the TRA, in 1986, hit upon the idea of a community-based radio station to represent its point of view directly to its constituency and to communicate more effectively with a community which has an oral tradition and a high rate of functional illiteracy. This idea was not unusual in itself. Nationally, ACORN (the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) had started to think about community radio as an organizing tool around the same time. However, the ACORN vision was more centralized in focus, more closely tied to coordinating national ACORN organizing goals among the local chapters, promoted relatively high wattage for maximum

defiantly so. Yet, because of Springfield's apartheid housing patterns, it was clear that even a station of less than a watt with a radius of between one and two miles could cover 70 percent of the African-American community, the prime audience which the station desired to reach. Since it was not to be a clandestine station, it would, by its very openness, challenge the power of the federal government.

Given the TRA's noncompliance with FCC rules and regs, though it continued to be involved in more mainstream community organizing activities, its primary funding agent, the Campaign for Human Development, canceled its grant. Fortunately, before that cancellation, \$600 in grant money had already been spent to purchase the equipment necessary to set up the radio station. All that remained was to find an empty spot on the dial and start broadcasting.

The FCC model for radio broadcasters is based on scarcity. Asserting that the electromagnetic spectrum is finite,



in the public interest, the FCC agrees to act as the impartial gatekeeper for access to the airwaves, even though, as is typically the case with community radio, the signal is kept within state boundaries and involves no interstate communication and digital technology is rapidly expanding the points of access available. However, another explanation of federal radio communications policy might start with a question recently posed by Kantako, as founder of the

start-up cost of the station's equipment) pursuant to Section 301 of the Communications Act of 1934 for being an unlicensed station. Upon shutting down the station for a little less than two weeks to reflect on the situation, Kantako recalled from history that during slavery there had been laws against the slaves communicating with one another. As he once pointed out, at a conference in Chicago on "Censorship On The Radio," which was put

FCC to license a station, it requires a minimum of 100 watts (replacing the old minimum standard of 10 watts). Start up costs for such a station are between \$50,000-\$100,000 (including equipment costs, engineering surveys, legal fees and proving to the FCC that you're solvent.) These requirements effectively silence many potential radio voices due to excessive costs.

As Kantako has put it, "It's kind of like those black tie dinners at \$25,000 a

**Providing equal protection by waiving license requirements or by setting up a separate amateur or personal category for low power community broadcasting licenses are political choices which the FCC seems unwilling to offer to the citizenry at the present time. Yet the 1934 Federal Communications Act calls for "fair, efficient and equitable" distribution of radio services.**

TRA and "deprogramming" director of the radio station since it has been on the air, "Why is it that in this country you cannot buy a radio transmitter fully assembled, but you can buy an AK-47?" It is from the Kantakos' apartment that the station emanates, and their living room is a gathering place for political activists, neighbors and friends to discuss the issues of the day. It is a focal point for community animation in which grievances are aired and aspirations articulated around the radio transmitter.

Just before the original FCC cease and desist order was issued, Kantako had broadcast a series of shows which involved community people calling in and giving personal testimony about police brutality, or as Kantako calls it "official government-sponsored terrorism." Springfield's Police Chief at that time, Mike Walton, quickly complained about the illegality of the station to the FCC, and in April of 1989, the feds knocked on Kantako's door demanding that he stop broadcasting or face a fine of \$750 (that's \$150 more than the

together by Lee Ballinger, associate editor of *Rock and Rap Confidential*, FCC regulations are selectively enforced. He calls the FCC the "thought patrol." "If you are saying, 'Don't give a damn about nobody. Get you a house. Get you a dog. Get you a swimming pool, and the hell with everybody else,' then they will not only leave you on the air; they'll give you a bigger transmitter! But if you start talking about people coming together to fight against the system that's oppressing all of humanity, all across the planet, then they will find you. There is nowhere you can hide."

So, he decided to go back on the air as an open act of civil disobedience, risking having his equipment taken, with fines that could go as high as \$10,000 and criminal penalties of as much as \$100,000 and one year in prison. By this act, WTRA was not simply resuming operations, but consciously challenging the exclusion of low income people, particularly African-Americans, from the airwaves and offering an affordable alternative. Since 1978, for the

plate. You can come, if you've got \$25,000. For anything you need to survive, they put a price tag on it, and if you don't have it, you don't survive. They call our broadcasting controversial. We call it survival material." In relation to the police, such survival material began to include broadcasting local police communications live from a police scanner set up in his apartment to monitor the police, and, in a more humorous vein, doing a recording at a Central Illinois barnyard of oinking and squealing pigs to be aired later for a full 90 minutes as a "secretly-recorded meeting at the Springfield police station."

While he likes a good joke at the expense of the police, when he flipped the switch to go back on the air, Kantako was very serious about his historical mission in picking up the torch laid down by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale by patrolling the police guerrilla-radio-style as a sort of "electronic Black Panther" strategy. In his words to the press that day, "Somebody tell the children how WTRA served as



an advocate for the people when the police wouldn't police themselves...Somebody tell the people how we fought police brutality by broadcasting the personal testimonies of African American victims." While he was not arrested, the FCC made clear to him that he was in violation of the code. In spite of the fact that the station was well under 10, much less 100, watts, the only exemption to the FCC's licensing requirement seems to be for

for "fair, efficient and equitable" distribution of radio services.

The types of voices heard on WTRA when it started and those heard on the station today have changed somewhat over the years. This change represents a situation in which equitable access to radio for young people has decreased as a direct result of the government clampdown on the station. While [at the time this essay was written] the FCC has not invaded Kantako's apart-

wrecker's ball with the demolition of the projects.

It is because of police retaliation that many stations choose to be clandestine, but the fact that the FCC and the Springfield police have not more directly attempted to shut the station down is probably related to its very visibility, both nationally and internationally. So, as some people have speculated, the destruction of the projects had the added appeal, for the powers that be,

**"Anything the government gives you, they can take away...Don't no government give you freedom of speech. Don't no government own the air...How the hell we gonna argue with them about their laws? That is insanity. We've already tried that for 500 years. I don't give a shit about their laws. Now this is what I call real revolution. You're exposing the system so the people can't have faith in it no more."**

extremely low power operations—250 microvolts per meter—that can be heard no more than 25 yards away. So, unless it upped its wattage 100 fold, which would be financially impossible, Kantako's station would not qualify for an FCC license.

Kantako is calling the FCC's bluff by demanding that the government pay more than just lip service to the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech and the 14th Amendment, which provides equal protection under the law. In terms of the latter, while blacks compose 12 percent of the nation's population, they only own two percent of its radio stations for an exclusion rate of 600 percent, which is even more dramatically high if class and gender are brought into the picture. Providing equal protection by waiving license requirements or by setting up a separate amateur or personal category for low power community broadcasting licenses are political choices which the FCC seems unwilling to offer to the citizenry at the present time. Yet the 1934 Federal Communications Act calls

ment and stolen his equipment, the local constabulary had upped the ante with a constant barrage of police harassment directed at anyone who had something to do with the station when it was located in the projects. This particularly affected the youth who were once the mainstay of the station and who, like the station, were unlicensed, being essentially teenagers learning radio skills and doing live hip hop mixes on the air, laying down a revolutionary sound track for the Ninties.

At the start there were as many as 16 young people regularly on air. All 16 were expelled from school by the school authorities and their police patrols for, as Kantako puts it, "anything from reading books on Malcolm X to not wanting to eat the red meat." Today, the youthful voices in the station are primarily the Kantakos' own home-schooled kids. Moreover, in addition to radio, many youth have been involved in the TRA's Marcus Garvey Freedom Summer School and/or the Malcolm X Children's Library, consigned to the

of smoking out the radio station without the need to mount a police invasion. They just never expected that it would start up so quickly again elsewhere.

While the FCC and the Housing Authority has sought to discredit the station by calling it a pirate operation, Kantako has never liked the pirate label. Firstly, for him, the term "pirate" conjures up piracy on the high seas and the connection between that piracy and the slave trade made it an unacceptable name. Secondly, the name has been associated with radio hobbyists, vanity broadcasting and radio hijinx, and Kantako is a serious programmer with a political message. Thirdly, the name "pirate" emphasizes illegality (what it isn't, rather than what it is), leaving out the chance to define itself positively. Finally, pirates are typically clandestine. So in spite of the pirate's romantic outlaw image and the history of clandestine political broadcasting, the micropower term seemed more appropriate to Kantako.

All of the above usages of the term



pirate are, of course, a far cry from the original radio pirates of the Twenties that came on the air and usurped the frequencies and call letters of licensed stations in order to pass themselves off as those stations whose credentials they hijacked. In fact, in recent times, this kind of trickery is more frequently done by the government than by privately operated pirate stations. For example, during the Gulf War, *Clandestine Confidential* (Feb. '91) reported a CIA pirate that probably used the studio of Radio Cairo to wage psychological warfare against the Iraqi troops and to provide disinformation to the Iraqi population by masquerading as Radio Baghdad, complete with the same introductory theme, bridge music and a hired actor impersonating Saddam Hussein. In a similar vein the Voice of Free Iraq was almost certainly a British operation.

As to its politics, a distinguishing feature of the Kantakos' station has always been its oppositional stance. During the recent war in the Middle East, it was the only station in Springfield that was vigorously critical of the U.S. government, with both the commercial stations and the university-based one (then called WSSU) busily involved in collaborating with the process of manufacturing consent. As Kantako has said, "If anything, what people should have got out of the Persian Gulf Massacre is how tightly the media is controlled by the military industrial complex...Your station will get community support if you start telling the people the truth because all over the planet folks are dying to hear the truth and one way this multinational conglomerate has stayed in charge is by purposely making the people ignorant."

In addition to counter-hegemonic news and commentary, the station has had a music policy that offers a "yard-to-yard" mix of hip hop, reggae and African-based music with a political flavor that consciously eschews racist, sexist or materialistic (my Mercedes is bigger than yours) music. As Kantako says, "Our music format is designed to resurrect the mind, not keep the mind asleep." In the past he has played "talk-

ing books" on black history, culture and liberation struggles that he received from the audio service for the blind but these days he's more likely to have his family members read directly from those books in a voice that's more familiar to their hoodies while at the same time providing role models for



Illustration by Ron Sakolsky

engaged literacy to the community

Aside from content, another way that the micropower radio movement intrinsically challenges cultural hegemony is on the networking level. It is based on a model of organization concerned more with spreading information than with hierarchical control. In the early days of the movement, Kantako even produced a 20 minute video on how to set up your own micropower radio station which he distributed widely around the country to those wanting to get started. This homemade video, in combination with Japan-based Tetsuo Kugowa's series of U.S. micropower radio workshops (one of which was videotaped in part by Paper Tiger TV and combined with Black Liberation Radio footage for widespread distribution under the title "Low Power Em-

powerment"), and a passel of alternative press articles, sparked the micropower radio movement in its early days. I once asked Kantako what his vision was for the micropower movement, since it is a term he coined himself. He replied, "I would like to see lots of little stations come on the air all over the country so you could drive out of one signal right into another. If you had a gap, you could run a tape until the next one came into range. I'm not interested in big megawatt stations. When you get too big, you get what you got now in America which is basically a homogenized mix of nothing, a bunch of mindless garbage which keeps the people operating in a mindless state. We think that the more community-based these things become, the more the community can put demands on the operators of these stations to serve the needs of that community."

So, in my anarchist visionary mode, I see myself in a car cruising the USA of the future with a map of micropower radio stations lighting my way from coast to coast, reflecting the wide array of cultural diversity that exists beneath the surface gloss—a vision that is the antithesis of the lockstep national unity of the New World Order. I smile broadly as I recall a 1991 radio interview with Kantako by Tobi Vail, the drummer for Bikini

Kill, in which he was asked what he would do if the FCC came and took his equipment. "We're prepared," he said, "to be a mobile station until we get some equipment again. We can run our station off of a 10 speed bike if necessary." Then, when asked, "How can our listeners support you in your struggle? Should we write the FCC?" Mbanna's immediate reply was, "Go on the air! Just go on the air!"

At one time Kantako was thinking of hooking up with the "lefty" National Lawyer's Guild whose Committee on Democratic Communications wanted to challenge those FCC regulations on his behalf in a First Amendment case. In the end, he chose to concentrate his activity on the local station and not get involved in what he calls the "sanitized lynching" of the court system. As he



once told me, "Anything the government gives you, they can take away...Don't no government give you freedom of speech. Don't no government own the air...How the hell we gonna argue with them about their laws? That is insanity. We've already tried that for 500 years. I don't give a shit about their laws. Now this is what I call real revolution. You're exposing the system so the people can't have faith in it no more."

Moving into the vacuum created by Mbanna's exit from the case has come Berkeley's free radio activist, Stephen Dunifer who began broadcasting in April of 1993 from the Berkeley hills with a homemade 15 watt transmitter which he carried in a backpack. Ultra-liberal Berkeley is, of course, on the exact opposite end of the political spectrum from Springfield, and Stephen Dunifer's radio activism is not the kind of explosive issue it would undoubtedly be in the more conservative climes of Illinois' capital city. In fact, Free Radio Berkeley has been joined in the Bay Area by San Francisco Liberation Radio, Radio Libre, and is the base for the Food Not Bombs Radio Network.

As an anarchist, Dunifer is certainly no proponent of government solutions to problems of democratizing communication, but he has been willing to take up the legal struggle as a way of carving out a kind of autonomous island in a sea of media monopoly. The station he created in April of 1993, Free Radio Berkeley, which now has a range of eight-to-ten miles, was once clandestine but became a 30 watt, 24 hours/day, seven days/week volunteer operation of about 50 people. Organized as a collective, Free Radio Berkeley counters the conventional radio model of hierarchical managerial control, playlists and demographics, with workers' self-management. Its efforts have spawned a host of other liberation radio stations around the country and a burgeoning worldwide movement. While he is quick to cite Mbanna Kantako as his inspiration, both for starting his own station and for standing up to the FCC thought police, it was his January 20, 1995 and November 12, 1997 court victories, in the "United States of America versus Stephen Dunifer," that have sparked the current growth of the micropower radio movement. In these decisions Federal Judge Claudia Wilken refused

to grant the FCC an injunction against Free Radio Berkeley—the first time they have ever been denied an injunction to shut down an unlicensed station—and the later decision once again raised Dunifer's claims that the FCC had violated his constitutional right to free speech.

When asked in Berkeley about his legal strategy in December of 1995, he told me: "Basically we want to build a movement of solidarity around grassroots democracy, around decentralized communication, around free radio, around micropower broadcasting. We have a window of opportunity here and it's going to remain open for a while. We need to explore it to the fullest while we're still under the protection of the court. Of course, no matter what the system ultimately decides, we intend on going ahead with it in one way or another, with or without legal approval. It's one of the most critical movements to happen in this decade."

In regard to the global dimensions of this movement, Dunifer has twice visited Haiti, where he acted as a technical consultant to the network of Haitian micropower radio stations (such as Radio Timon) presently beginning to flex their muscles with the support of the Lavalas (Cleansing Flood) party, whose logo is of people sitting equally around a table. While treated as an unsavory criminal by the U.S. government, Dunifer has found a supporter for his ideas in former President Aristide (who himself has been the subject of an ugly U.S. government disinformation campaign), and with his help Dunifer seeks to place a transmitter at the center of that Lavalas table.

On the day he left Haiti after his first visit, Dunifer met with Aristide himself to discuss the possibilities for setting up micropower radio stations throughout the island, reserving 50 percent or more of the spectrum for either public or grassroots community radio. Previously, Dunifer had supplied transmitters clandestinely after the rightist military coup against Aristide, and now he was back to openly bring Do It Yourself radio to Haiti. By the use of off-the-shelf technology and common electronic components, Free Radio Berkeley has been able to provide communities with a low power FM station (20-50 watts) at a cost of between \$1,000 and \$2,500, depending on the audio equipment

utilized. Micropower radio makes perfect sense in a country where the predominant language is Creole, but where most of the media, particularly print, is in French, the colonial language of the elite. Given the language barrier and the fact that most Haitians are illiterate, the appeal of a myriad national network of urban and rural micropower radio stations broadcasting in Creole is apparent. It is Dunifer's hope to supply the "people's technology" and the training to realize this vision regardless of the more conservative thrust of U.S. foreign policy. Contrary to the media's version of consensus reality carefully orchestrated by the U.S. government; in Haiti, the democracy movement is not supported by U.S. intervention, but rather is opposed by U.S. financed paramilitary units like FRAPH, the threat of renewed U.S. military intervention, and World Bank/IMF economic pressures toward the "privatization" of state enterprises rather than the Lavalas party's emphasis on their "democratization."

This kind of internationalist radio activism is not new for Dunifer. Since 1994 his transmitters have, via the Free Communications Coalition in Berkeley, been placed in the hands of political activists in the barrios of Mexico City. In one case the downtown station known as Radio TeleVerdad (located on a central traffic island) was raided by Mexican police, but has since gone back on the air. Other transmitters have also found their way to the Zapatista rebels and other insurgent Indian groups in Chiapas, who have used a combination of armed rebellion and nonviolent direct action to push for their own autonomous regions within Mexico.

For his part, Dunifer envisions an exchange program in which some people from peasant communities in Chiapas would visit Haiti and vice versa to promote unity by using community radio as a tool in confronting NAFTA and GATT. He has called GATT, Greed Allowed To Triumph (a new acronym no doubt awaits GATT's successor, the World Trade Organization or WTO; might I suggest Willing To Oppress). As to NAFTA, he'd like to turn it upside down so that it stands for North American Free Transmission of Anarchy. Imbedded in the pointed humor of

Continued on page 51



# The Wrong Stuff: Nukes in Space

Karl Grossman

T

hose involved in atomic power began manipulating the media at the birth of the technology—with the rationale, at the time, that war necessitated deception.

In 1945 the Manhattan Project, getting ready to test and deploy the atomic bombs it had built, hired *New York Times* reporter William L. Laurence as a public relations consultant. Laurence remained on the *Times*' payroll.<sup>1</sup> The *Times* managing editor had "approached" Laurence that spring and said, "I have a letter here from General Leslie R. Groves. He wants to see you," according to a history of nuclear technology, *Time Bomb*. Laurence "met with General Groves," the head of the Manhattan Project, and thereafter "went 'on loan'" working out of the laboratory in Los Alamos, New Mexico (now Los Alamos National Laboratory) where the earliest bombs were built.<sup>2</sup>

A first major assignment for Laurence: figuring out how to mislead the press—and public—when the first atomic bomb test, code-named Trinity, took place at the government's Alamogordo bombing range in the New Mexico desert on July 16, 1945. The scientists of the Manhattan Project were unsure what would happen. "Anything might go wrong. They had gambled three years and two billion taxpayers' dollars on the project; the time had come to see if it would work," related *Time Bomb*. "Would the bomb produce a mighty explosion or a fizzle?"<sup>3</sup>

"Safety was a second concern," according to *City of Fire*, a history of Los Alamos and the Manhattan Project.

"The Wrong Stuff: Nukes in Space" is a preliminary examination of some of the historical and institutional forces which have successfully kept the lid on the full extent of the deployment of nuclear power and materials in the United States space program. Karl Grossman is a journalism professor at the State University of New York who has spent several years working to expose the social and environmental costs and risks of nuclear materials in space. This essay has been excerpted from his new book, *The Wrong Stuff: The Space Program's Nuclear Threat to our Planet*, published last year by Common Courage Press, Box 702, Monroe, ME 04951.

Reprinted with permission of the author.  
© 1997



"What if radioactive dust drifted over nearby towns?" An army major was "stationed north of the test area with 160 enlisted men on horses and in jeeps [and] instructed to evacuate ranches and towns at the last moment if necessary."<sup>4</sup>

In any case, the press and public were not to know what was happening. They were to be kept in the dark—as a matter of wartime censorship. The test was scheduled for the middle of the night. The bomb would likely light up the night sky.

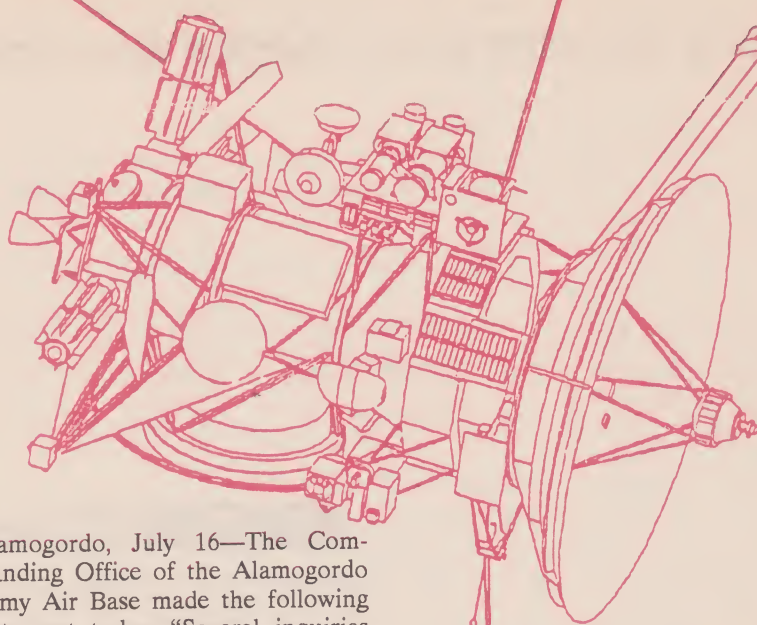
Laurence prepared "four different press releases" based on a lie to keep the story of the first atomic explosion out of the press, notes *Nukespeak*.<sup>5</sup> The release would claim that an ammunition dump explosion had occurred. Laurence's four press releases only differed "on the size of the explosion they described"<sup>6</sup>

The Manhattan Project sent an intelligence officer, Phil Belcher, to the Associated Press office in Albuquerque with the press release, recounts *City of Fire*.<sup>7</sup>

The atomic bomb was exploded. When the fireball rose and the desert was bathed in eerie, blinding white light with an ominous mushroom cloud billowing, the scientific director of the Manhattan Project, Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, was struck, he later recalled, by the words of the sacred Hindu book, the *Bhagavad-Gita*: "I am become death. The shatterer of worlds."<sup>8</sup>

The light of the explosion was seen all over the southwest. "The first flash of light was seen in Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Silver City and El Paso," notes *City of Fire*. "Windows had been broken in nearby buildings and had been rattled in Silver City and Gallup. A rancher sleeping near Alamogordo was awakened suddenly with what seemed like a plane crashing in his yard...A forest ranger in Silver City reported an earthquake to the Associated Press.... The Associated Press office in Albuquerque soon had a number of queries and reports on a strange explosion in southern New Mexico."<sup>9</sup>

It was then that Belcher gave the AP the "news release," says *City of Fire*.<sup>10</sup> The AP obediently moved this phony account written by newsman William Laurence;



The Cassini probe.

Alamogordo, July 16—The Commanding Office of the Alamogordo Army Air Base made the following statement today: "Several inquiries have been received concerning a heavy explosion which occurred on the Alamogordo Base reservation this morning.

"A remotely located ammunition magazine containing a considerable amount of high explosives and pyrotechnics exploded.

"There was no loss of life or injury to anyone, and the property damage outside of the explosives magazine itself was negligible.

"Weather conditions affecting the content of the gas shells exploded by the blast made it desirable for the Army to evacuate temporarily a few civilians from their homes."

"New Mexico newspapers ran the story in different versions, and the story appeared in a number of radio shows," notes *City of Fire*. "No further word was issued by the Alamogordo Base."

The first atomic bomb was detonated in a blast stirring cities and towns through the southwest of the U.S., and there was no difficulty in "managing" the news about it.

That has continued in the story of nuclear technology to the present day. Behind the management of information to minimize the dangers, health impacts and cost of nuclear technology has been an army of public relations practitioners—often using deceptive information in the tradition of Laurence's press release, although no longer is there a war going on for which to rationalize the cover-up.

John Stauber and Sheldon Rampton, watchdogs of PR practitioners as editors of the magazine *PR Watch*,<sup>11</sup> are among those who have explored the story of public relations and nuclear technology. It is the subject of a chapter ("Spinning the Atom") in their book *Toxic Sludge is Good For You! Lies, Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry*. They describe the "public relations campaign to transform the image of nuclear technology" that was launched with President Eisenhower's 1953 "Atoms for Peace" speech at the United Nations.<sup>12</sup> As is typically the case with public relations in nuclear technology "image and reality were worlds apart."<sup>13</sup>

They provide numerous examples, including how Metropolitan Edison handled the PR when its Three Mile Island plant suffered a near-meltdown, starting with Met Ed's chief spokesman Don Curry announcing on "the first day of the crisis [that] 'there have been no recordings of any significant levels of radiation, and none are expected out-



side the plant.”<sup>14</sup>

Stauber and Rampton tell of the still-continuing effort by the Department of Energy and nuclear industry through the American Nuclear Energy Council to have Yucca Mountain in Nevada become a nuclear waste repository. They quote from a plan the council called its “Nevada Initiative” which called for a blanket of TV ads to provide “air cover” for the push, local reporters to be “hired” to present the “industry’s side of the story.” DOE scientists would act as a “scientific truth response team.... With our ‘campaign committee’ of Nevada political insiders, our strategic response teams, the advertising program, and the polls that will provide us with a road map along the way, we believe that as each move is made, one or more of the targeted adversaries will begin to surface, move our way, fight us and then, eventually dialogue with the industry. It is through this strategic game of chess that the campaign will ultimately prevail and move to checkmate anti-nuclear forces in Nevada.”<sup>15</sup>

They quote David Lilienthal, after he resigned as AEC chairman, complaining about the “many instances of the way in which public relations techniques—the not-so-hidden persuader—have been used to promote the appropriation of funds for the peaceful Atom.”<sup>16</sup>

*Nukespeak* also closely examines the public relations push behind nuclear technology declaring that “the history of nuclear development has been profoundly shaped by the manipulation of information through official secrecy and extensive public-relations campaigns. *Nukespeak* and the use of information-management techniques have consistently distorted the debate over nuclear weapons and nuclear power.”<sup>17</sup> *Nukespeak*, too, is chock full of examples.

Daniel Ford, former executive director of the Union of Concerned Scien-

tists, in his book, *Cult of the Atom: The Secret Papers of the Atomic Energy Commission*, writes about the PR efforts by the U.S. government in the 1950s and 60s:

A public-relations effort on behalf of nuclear power was not merely an

The first atomic bomb was detonated in a blast stirring cities and towns through the southwest of the U.S., and there was no difficulty in “managing” the news about it.

That has continued in the story of nuclear technology to the present day. Behind the management of information to minimize the dangers, health impacts and cost of nuclear technology has been an army of public relations practitioners—often using deceptive information in the tradition of Laurence’s press release, although no longer is there a war going on for which to rationalize the cover-up.

incidental activity of the [Atomic Energy] Commission. It was a fundamental part of what AEC officials, at the highest level, saw as the agency’s mission. Chairman [Lewis] Strauss was mindful of the results of opinion surveys that showed that postwar enthusiasm for nuclear power had faded and that public support for the peaceful uses of atomic energy was relatively weak. The Commission knew that it would have to work systematically to win public support for a large nuclear industry, and to lessen public fear of the hazards. Strauss concluded that the national press—and science writers, in particular—provided the AEC’s “critical contact with the public,” as he termed it, and that the media would have to serve as the conduit for the AEC’s atomic power boosterism. In a speech before the National Association of Science Writers in

September 1954, Strauss set out the themes that the AEC wanted the media to present to the public. Electric power from the atom, he said, could be available, according to the AEC’s experts, in “from five to fifteen years...It is not too much to expect that our children will enjoy in their homes electrical energy too cheap to meter.”<sup>18</sup>

“Strauss invited the science writers to ‘work together’ with the AEC and its scientists to educate the public about the atom and its promise. From the laudatory articles on nuclear energy that appeared over the next two decades—and the rarity of any critical coverage of the potential hazards—it is evident that the national media responded to the chairman’s invitation as he had intended,” observed Ford. “With unquestioning support from the media, and unqualified endorsement by Congress and the administration, the advocates of a large nuclear power program proceeded, unchallenged, with their ambitious enter-

prise.”<sup>19</sup>

In my book, *Cover Up: What You Are Not Supposed To Know About Nuclear Power*, I reproduced the DOE “Public Information Plan” to push nuclear power by the Reagan administration during the 1980s. The plan called for, among other things, the DOE assistant secretary for nuclear energy “to meet with selected editorial boards” of newspapers, to prepare “articles about nuclear energy” or have “other qualified officials” write them and place them in publications including the *New York Times*, *Reader’s Digest* and *Time*. Various government departments would be utilized. “Defense and State could assert the effect on national security... The Department of Commerce, Labor, and Treasury, as well as OMB [Office of Management and Budget], could speak to the economic advantages. The



Surgeon General and the President's Science Advisor might commission blue ribbon scientific panels to certify the negligible radiation effect of nuclear power reactors. The Departments of the Interior might comment on the several environmental advantages of nuclear power."<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, many of the reporters covering nuclear technology—starting with Laurence—became cheerleaders for the technology, just like the reporters who cover the space beat have become uncritical space program boosters.

Laurence is a model for this. The only journalist allowed to witness the Alamogordo atomic bomb test, two months later, after A-bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, he wrote about the Alamogordo event in glowing terms in the *New York Times*. "The hills said 'yes' and the mountains chimed in 'yes,'" the newsman waxed poetic. "It was as if the earth had spoken and the suddenly iridescent clouds and sky had joined in one mighty affirmative answer. Atomic energy—yes."<sup>21</sup>

(Laurence tried hard to get on the Enola Gay for its atomic bombing of Hiroshima. He wasn't permitted to do that but was allowed to witness the bombing of Nagasaki from an observer plane—the only journalist to be present for the A-bomb attack on Japan.)

He would continue his verbal euphoria about nuclear technology for years afterwards. "Laurence's reports were the backbone of the writing, reporting, filming, and editing that constituted a yea-saying to nuclear energy throughout three decades," notes *Time Bomb*.<sup>22</sup>

As Laurence wrote in a 1948 article for *Woman's Home Companion*, with nuclear energy humanity has "a chance to enter into a new Eden...abolishing disease and poverty, anxiety and fear." We might "learn to control weather and heredity...find the key to the riddles

of old age." There would be "better, finer and more nourishing plants, better, cheaper and more abundant fertilizer; better and richer soils, farms, and gardens; better and finer clothing and homes; better men and women." Nuclear plants would pump water and turn the world's desert's into "blooming

A public-relations effort on behalf of nuclear power was not merely an incidental activity of the [Atomic Energy] Commission. It was a fundamental part of what AEC officials, at the highest level, saw as the agency's mission. Chairman [Lewis] Strauss was mindful of the results of opinion surveys that showed that postwar enthusiasm for nuclear power had faded and that public support for the peaceful uses of atomic energy was relatively weak. The Commission knew that it would have to work systematically to win public support for a large nuclear industry, and to lessen public fear of the hazards.

gardens," turn swamps and jungles into "vast new lands flowing with milk and honey." Summing up this "turning point in the history of civilization," he claimed: "Such power plants could, in short, make the dream of the earth as a Promised Land come true in time for many of us already born to see and enjoy it."<sup>23</sup>

### All the Nukes That's Fit to Print

Not only *Times*-man Laurence but the *New York Times* itself, as the U.S. "paper of record," is an important example of media handling—or mishandling—of nuclear power. With nuclear technology, as on other issues, the *Times* has been a model for the U.S. media.

Among those following Laurence's pro-nuclear bent at the *Times* was Rog-

er Starr, a principal writer of hundreds of *Times*' editorials and essays under his own byline promoting nuclear power. He stressed in an interview with me in 1989 that the stance was fully accepted by others at the top at the *Times*. Between editors "and the publisher there is not a bit of disagreement" on the nuclear issue, Starr declared.<sup>24</sup>

It shows. On the tenth anniversary of Three Mile Island, then *Times* editorial page editor, Leslie Gelb, chose to publish only one op-ed on the nuclear plant accident: "Three Mile Island: The Good News." Thomas Pigford's piece contended the accident caused no ill health effects except for "the fright and trauma stemming from technical errors and public announcement" and was really "a positive development" because it prompted better nuclear utility management, which "means America's nuclear option can be stronger."<sup>25</sup>

Along with media boosterism of nuclear technology, suppression of critical stories of

nuclear technology has been occurring at the *Times* (and much of the rest of U.S. media). When *Times* reporters have wanted to investigate nuclear issues, they've met stiff resistance. Frances Cerra resigned from the *Times* after editors killed a story she had written about the Long Island Lighting Company facing "financial demise" because of its Shoreham nuclear plant project. A *Times* editor told her that publishing the piece "could adversely affect LILCO's financial well-being," said Cerra. "He further told me that I—at the time covering Long Island for the paper—should in the future consider LILCO out of my beat. When I told him that this was unacceptable, I was punished by being removed from Long Island coverage to dangle, uncomfortably, without portfolio and anything of substance to work on."<sup>26</sup>

Alden Whitman, A *Times* journalist



for twenty-five years, said that "there certainly was never any effort made to do" in-depth or investigative reporting on nuclear power. Why? "I think there is stupidity involved," said Whitman, and further "the *Times* does regard itself as part of the establishment...They get very nervous when they attack industry. Certainly when they attack industry that is as heavily involved in finance and the banks as nuclear power, they would get very uptight. They don't want to attack the status quo."<sup>27</sup>

Anna Mayo speaks of having "built a full-time career on covering nuclear horror stories that the *New York Times* neglected." The long-time former *Village Voice* reporter notes that the *Times* has reporters "who are interested in this issue, and well able to report it...and have all the resources of the *Times*," but end up getting "reined in" or "put on 'other assignments.'" The story of the *Times* and nuclear power, says Mayo, is one of "constant cronyism, collusion and singleness of purpose" between the publication and those in government and industry who have been pushing nuclear power.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile, on the business side, a coming together of media and nuclear interests has been going on. On the board of directors of the *New York Times* is George B. Munroe, retired chairman and chief executive officer of Phelps Dodge Corporation which, during his tenure, was deeply involved in uranium mining, and George Shinn, retired chairman of the First Boston Corporation, an investor in nuclear utilities. Board member Marian S. Heiskell, meanwhile, sister of former *Times* publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Jr. has been a long-time member of the board of Consolidated Edison, the New York utility with nuclear interests.

### Crooked TV

The business links of the *Times* to the nuclear industry pale in comparison to

those of CBS, owned by Westinghouse, and NBC, owned by GE. (For decades before their network takeovers, both companies had run smaller, nevertheless substantial, chains of radio and TV stations.)

Both are deeply involved in determining content at their media holdings:

...Laurence wrote in a 1948 article for *Woman's Home Companion*, with nuclear energy humanity has "a chance to enter into a new Eden...abolishing disease and poverty, anxiety and fear." We might "learn to control weather and heredity... find the key to the riddles of old age." There would be "better, finer and more nourishing plants, better, cheaper and more abundant fertilizer; better and richer soils, farms, and gardens; better and finer clothing and homes; better men and women."

GE's buy-out of NBC in 1986 and Westinghouse's acquisition of CBS in 1995 were no mere business decisions. "I think all the networks can do a better job of providing a more objective and balanced perspective," said Michael Jordan, the nuclear engineer who is the chair and chief executive of Westinghouse and personally arranged the \$5.4 billion all-cash deal for Westinghouse to take over CBS.<sup>28</sup> Jordan has also said that he wants Westinghouse to "fully exploit all potential synergies among our business units."<sup>29</sup>

Westinghouse, the world's biggest manufacturer of nuclear plants and other nuclear equipment, has a record of stopping at nothing to push nuclear power. In 1988, the Philippines filed a \$2.2 billion suit against Westinghouse accusing the company of bribing associates of the Marcos regime to build a nuclear plant "on the side of a volcano, beside an earthquake fault, on the Bataan peninsula," reported the *New York Times*.<sup>31</sup>

Westinghouse, the Number 3 U.S.

nuclear weapons contractor, doing \$3 billion-plus a year in nuclear weapons work, also runs the nuclear facilities for the U.S. government, including its Savannah River, Fernald and W.I.P.P. nuclear operations.

GE has been a corporate outlaw virtually since its creation. GE and its officials have a long record of fraud and financial and environmental violations. One of its big activities has been corrupting public officials. Just consider the 1990s. An investigative article by Sam Hussein on GE in *Extra!* noted that in 1990 GE was convicted of defrauding the U.S. Department of Defense for overcharging the Army for a battlefield computer system. In 1992 it pleaded guilty to fraud, money laundering and corrupt business practices in the U.S. in connection with a sale of military jet engines to Israel. In 1992, anti-trust charges were brought against GE for working with the DeBeers diamond cartel to rig prices. Indeed, a "February 1994 report by the Project on Government Oversight found that GE had 16 instances of fraudulent activity against the government since 1990—the most of any company listed," noted the article titled "Felons On The Air: Does GE's Ownership of NBC Violate the Law?"<sup>32</sup>

GE and Westinghouse are companies that the media should be monitoring—not companies that should be owners of media. Indeed, the Federal Communications Commission, from the time it was created in 1934, has claimed it wants only "stewards of the community interest" to control the U.S. airwaves. Nevertheless, GE and Westinghouse are today giant of U.S. media and growing nationally and globally. After taking over CBS in 1995, Westinghouse, in a \$3.9 billion deal, bought up the Infinity Broadcasting Corporation, a network of 83 radio stations. GE's NBC has been endeavoring to broadcast worldwide and move aggressively into cable TV with new networks, including



the 24-hour all-news channel MSNBC, the 24-hour mainly talk-show channel CNBC and joint ownership in other cable TV channels.

If you work for GE's NBC or Westinghouse's CBS, you get the message quickly about what you are not supposed to report on. When an Emmy Award-winning report done at a Chicago station on substandard bolts used in nuclear plants—including those built by GE—was to go network and appear on the *Today* show on GE's NBC, *Today* cut all reference to the substandard bolts.<sup>33</sup>

Under such circumstances, one cannot expect to learn much about nuclear power in space on NBC or CBS. And don't hold your breath for the rest of mainstream U.S. media to report on the issue either.

Thus, between the media failure to do critical reporting on the U.S. space program and its dysfunction on nuclear technology, year after year, the matter of nuclear power in space has ended up on the Project Censored list.

### Voices of Integrity in the Desert of Venality

There are a few, a very few, media exceptions to this pattern. The *St. Petersburg Times*, for example, one of the distinct minority of independently-owned newspapers remaining in the U.S., stood virtually alone in editorializing against the Galileo plutonium-fueled flight. It noted that "NASA speculates" that the plutonium particles dispersed in an accident "could be gathered up safely." But then why, asked the newspaper<sup>34</sup>

if the Galileo is so safe, has the Florida Department of Health and Human Services assigned crews of radiation experts to the four-country region most likely to be affected by launch difficulties? Why have these

crews already gathered data on existing radiation for comparison with reading they plan to take after the launch? Why is Joel Reynolds, the space center's safety chief, entertaining plans for "emergency management" exercises? Despite the fancy euphemism, these plans sound dis-

The business links of the *Times* to the nuclear industry pale in comparison to those of CBS, owned by Westinghouse, and NBC, owned by GE...Westinghouse, the world's biggest manufacturer of nuclear plants and other nuclear equipment, has a record of stopping at nothing to push nuclear power...GE has been a corporate outlaw virtually since its creation. GE and its officials have a long record of fraud and financial and environmental violations. One of its big activities has been corrupting public officials.

treasingly familiar to baby-boomers trained in Cold War-era "civil defense" drills. "If we record high (radiation) doses leaving the space center, the state will recommend that people go inside their homes and turn off their air conditioners until the cloud passes," Reynolds says optimistically. As for the 100,000 who might gather outside to observe the shuttle take-off, "We'd never get them out of here," he admits.<sup>35</sup>

"The space agency may be ready to risk innocent lives in the name of science, and as a step toward developing the technology for the controversial Strategic Defense Initiative. There is no reason for Floridians to accept that risk as their own," declared the *St. Petersburg Times* in the 1989 editorial titled "Plutonium-238: A Risky Number."<sup>36</sup>

The *Los Angeles Times* in 1988 editorialized against nuclear-powered satellites in space. "The history of nuclear reactors in orbit gives great cause for

concern," it noted. "Their safety record is not good."<sup>37</sup>

While this country does not currently use nuclear power for its satellites, it is planning to orbit as many as 100 nuclear reactors as part of the Strategic Defense Initiative. According to

Lt. Gen. James Abrahamson, director of the "Star Wars" project, without nuclear power "that's going to be a long, long lightcord that goes down to the surface of the Earth."<sup>38</sup>

The *Los Angeles Times* supported a proposal then being made by the Federation of American Scientists and a top Russian space scientist for a "ban on orbiting nuclear reactors...Prohibiting nuclear reactors in orbit is an idea that the United States and the Soviet Union should wholeheartedly pursue. The reentry of Cosmos 1900 will again focus the world's attention on the

danger posed by radioactive material as it comes hurtling in from space. This continuing risk can be stopped by international agreement, and should be."<sup>39</sup>

Now and then, journalists will ask the hard questions of NASA (usually never reporters on the space beat, however). There is David Chandler of the *Boston Globe*. Or Bill Moyers, in a PBS program *The Truth About Lies*, in which there was a segment on NASA, lies and the Challenger tragedy. "Failure to look at the fearsome truth and the unwillingness to acknowledge the facts have been costly to our country," Moyers stated. "We've paid that cost in human life and mutual trust. Decisive moments in our recent past, unforgettable moments, reveal those pressures that drive people to deny the truth and distort reality." He interviewed those who tried to blow the whistle at NASA about shuttle problems before the Challenger disaster. "But NASA had other ideas," noted Moyers.<sup>40</sup>

And most other reporters have "other



ideas" when it comes to space coverage. "NASA uses its RTGs [radioisotope thermoelectric generators] only when there is no alternative," stressed Robert C. Cowen, a space enthusiast who writes on science for the *Christian Science Monitor*, accepting NASA's PR line.

It is not rare to see flat-out NASA PR lies published as news, such as the constant claims that the RTG canisters won't break—belied in the official documentation—or a statement published in the *Times* of London in 1995 in which the NASA projection of five to seven billion people being "exposed to the fallout" from a Cassini "flyby" accident was noted. The *Times*, the "paper of record" for the United Kingdom, stated: "A NASA spokesman emphasized that this was the absolute worst case scenario and highly unlikely because we plan to have Cassini miss the Earth by 10,000 miles."<sup>41</sup>

In fact, as the *Final Environmental Impact Statement for the Cassini Mission* clearly states,

Cassini is to fly over the Earth "at an altitude of 500 km [kilometers]" or 312 miles. The NASA spokesman was off by 9,688 miles in his lie to the *Times* of London.<sup>42</sup>

Thus, the media treatment of the trouble-plagued Galileo flight as it arrived at Jupiter in 1995 was typical. "Jupiter Rendezvous Is A Marvel of Perfection," was the headline of John Noble Wilford's story in the *New York Times*. (No mention of the words plutonium or nuclear in the story, as usual.)<sup>43</sup>

The issue of nuclear power in space being chronically under-reported and a regular item on the Project Censored list has some "pretty clear components," says Mark Lowenthal of Project Censored. "The most obvious is the nature of media ownership—GE and Westinghouse," he states. Then there are the less direct ties, the "interlocking directorates" between media institutions

and corporations involved in nuclear technology, members of the boards of directors of media on the boards of those corporations. Further, there is a similarity with the lack of vigilant reporting" on other areas of nuclear technology."<sup>44</sup>

The "critics of nuclear policy, those

If you work for GE's NBC or Westinghouse's CBS, you get the message quickly about what you are not supposed to report on. When an Emmy Award-winning report done at a Chicago station on substandard bolts used in nuclear plants—including those built by GE—was to go network and appear on the *Today* show on GE's NBC, *Today* cut all reference to the substandard bolts.

Under such circumstances, one cannot expect to learn much about nuclear power in space on NBC or CBS. And don't hold your breath for the rest of mainstream U.S. media to report on the issue either.

opposing the building of power plants or siting nuclear waste storage sites are on the outside. They don't have highly paid lobbyists or big advertising budgets. They don't have the ears of news producers; they don't run in similar social circles."<sup>45</sup>

Further, "there's a kind of national insecurity syndrome" when it comes to dealing with certain issues "in which the potential consequences can be very dramatic. There is a predisposition in media not to scare the public." And nuclear technology issues have "the potential to scare people. The press gravitates to stories that have a beginning, middle and end. There is no solution to the storage of nuclear waste or design flaws in nuclear plants. There is this great reluctance to alarm the public—despite the press having the job to point out serious public interest issues, serious public health issues. Nuclear

issues are considered just too explosive." An examination could "create tremendous public unrest and anxiety. Noam Chomsky has written a great deal about this: how a major purpose of the press is to perpetuate the status quo and not delve into some of the realities that exist out there. Nuclear technology issues are something considered just too explosive. Although there is a big difference between fomenting public panic and having, at the least, a conversation on the issue."<sup>46</sup>

"You combine all these factors and you have a recipe for bad journalism, an abdication of press responsibility," said Lowenthal. "The press should serve as an early warning system. There is great journalism out there waiting to happen."<sup>47</sup>

## Notes

1. Stephen Hilgartner, Richard C. Bell and Rory O'Connor, *Nukespeak: The Selling of Nuclear Technology in America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983), p.33.

2. Corrine Browne and Robert Munroe, *Time Bomb: Understanding the Threat of*

*Nuclear Power* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1991), p.27.

3. Ibid., p.34.

4. James W. Kunetka, *City of Fire: Los Alamos and the Birth of the Atomic Age* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978), p.153.

5. Hilgartner, Bell and O'Connor, *Nukespeak, The Selling of Nuclear Technology in America*, op cit., p.33.

6. Ibid., p.34.

7. James W. Kunetka, *City of Fire*, op cit., pp.170-171.

8. Ibid., p.170.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p.171.

11. *PR Watch*, a quarterly, is published by the Center for Media & Democracy, 3318 Gregory St., Madison, WI 53711.

12. John Stauber and Sheldon Rampton, *Toxic Sludge is Good for You: Lies, Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1995), pp.34-35.

13. Ibid., p.35.

14. Ibid., p.39.

15. Ibid., p.41.

Continued on page 63



# Frequencies of Resistance

continued from page 43

the above acronyms is Dunifer's recognition of both the global nature of communications media and the need to keep them out of the exclusive control of the multinational corporations.

His new project, International Radio Action in Education (IRATE) will attempt to do just that. Its agenda is essentially to pose the cultural policy question of what communications media would be like if they weren't dominated by the global corporate state? For one thing direct lateral connections between embattled ethnic enclaves in the US and those nations from which they originally sprang could be facilitated without the mediation of the megawatt radio dinosaurs, Disney or CNN. For example, take the Chicano farmworker communities of Watsonville and Salinas in California, both of which now have micropower radio stations and are newly finding their voices on the airwaves broadcasting in Spanish and making connections with Chiapas via the free radio movement. The aim is to not only provide transmitters and related equipment, but the technical know-how to manufacture, repair, set up and maintain those transmitters and stations. Recently, technical consulting and support was also provided to ARPAS, a community radio association in El Salvador when in late 1995 the government raided 11 community radio stations and seized their equipment. Equipment and training have also gone to Guatemala, Nicaragua and the Philippines.

And what about using micropower radio as a local community organizing tool with spontaneous impact? Dunifer recounted a story to me about a June 26, 1995 protest march in San Francisco that had been called in support of Mumia Abu-Jamal (currently an imprisoned and censored would-be radio radical himself). The torchlight demonstration ended in an unconstitutional mass arrest. Quite a number of the people arrested had shows on Free Radio Berkeley. As they were being hauled off to the big "time out chair" downtown, they shouted out the studio phone line number for the station and

phone calls to the studio from sympathizers were put on the air. A lot of folks from the East Bay community, which is covered by the Free Radio Berkeley signal, heard directly within minutes that their friends were being arrested in a random police sweep, as a result both of these calls and arrestee phone calls to the studio made from the jail itself (where the station's phone number had been scrawled onto the wall above the phone). The station in turn orchestrated a phone campaign to deluge the D.A. and the mayor's office with calls demanding that people be freed. Moreover, it soon became international in scope, as word went out on the Internet about the bust, and San Francisco quickly became the site of intervention on behalf of free speech by advocates from around the world.

If there is a déjà vu feeling to the above scenario, perhaps it best recalls the famous Wobbly free speech fights from the early part of this century. When Wobs were jailed for soapboxing on behalf of the One Big Union, the word would go out through the IWW grapevine and the hobo jungles to head to the latest site of confrontation so as to get arrested and fill the jails with boisterous singing Wobs until the free speech fight there was won because keeping them jailed was more of a nuisance than it was to let them organize. Dunifer, himself a Wobbly, sees the continuity here in terms of an emphasis on direct action tactics; using, in the San Francisco case, the latest technology to successfully combine micropower radio, telecommunications and the Internet in a mass protest situation. His IWW cohorts at the station agree; as do those at Flea Radio Berkeley, an IWW offshoot which broadcasts live every week from the Ashby Flea Market in Berkeley where, weather-permitting, they have a table containing literature on the free radio movement and the Wobs, and, offer face-to-face participatory programming to any shoppers who have songs, poems and commentary to voice. Moreover, they have also begun to broadcast on the spot coverage of public events and demonstrations where mobile micropowered radio is currently used to offer an alternative to corporate media bias in reporting political activism; airing shows which range from first-hand accounts of the anti-union-busting picket lines of

workers at the Lafayette Park Hotel to the revelry of the People's Park Hemp Day Festival. All in all, as a result of such activity, the accessibility, safety, and practical potential of micropower radio is increasingly being witnessed on a first hand basis.

For years, people have gotten the "I" in IWW mistaken for "International" rather than "Industrial" (Workers of the World); an honest mistake given the union's internationalist perspective. Perhaps Dunifer's efforts on behalf of the micropower radio movement both in Berkeley and abroad, can utilize human scale technology to unite those engaged in struggles for political, economic and cultural autonomy; from Springfield to Berkeley, from Watsonville to Chiapas and onward to Haiti. In so doing, this approach could simultaneously break down the artificial dichotomy between local and international struggles without sacrificing the particular needs of one to the other. And so, as the century turns, we could give new "state of the art" meaning to the old Wob slogan, "direct action gets the goods."

*Since this account of the history of micropower radio was written, Free Radio Berkeley has been shut down after a federal court judge ruled that no First Amendment rights were abridged by the FCC's attempts to silence the station—because Free Radio Berkeley never applied for an FCC license or waiver.*

*In the last two years the FCC has successfully shut down more than 200 micropower/pirate radio stations.*

*In late November Tree (not "Free") Radio Berkeley began broadcasting from a redwood tree overlooking a park, vowing to continue until federal marshals hauled them out. However, it was weather which finally drove them out of the tree in December.*

*According to one account, "perched on wooden platforms, rotating DJs had kept the 40-watt signal (powered by car batteries) going, sending out an eclectic mix that included commentary, punk rock, gospel and tapes made by death-row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal."*

*For updates on the rapidly changing free radio scene check the latest messages on the internet newsgroup alt.radio.pirate, check the website of Pirate Radio Central (<http://www.blackcatsystems.com/radio/pirate.html>), and look for upcoming issues of APR.*



# REVIEWS

## Alternative Press Magazines

### Alternative Press Magazines & Zines

Because there is such a huge volume of alternative material being published, in any single issue we are only able to review a hundred or so of the periodicals we receive. Zines and magazines go in and out of publication daily, so don't be surprised if a few of those listed here have already folded. You're almost always better off sending cash or stamps (or IRCs—international Postal Reply Coupons) for smaller zines, unless the review specifies otherwise. If you want to be sure whether a zine or magazine is still available, send a SASE with a request for current information first.

APR will send a free exchange copy to every publication reviewed in these pages (as long as it is at least 16 pages in length in standard 8 1/2 x 11 size or 32 pages in smaller format). Please be aware that we receive hundreds of periodicals, more than we could ever review, and are constantly backlogged. Also keep in mind that the APR issue we send for exchanges will be the one a publication is reviewed in (when it is reviewed), so please be patient. APR does not exchange with non-English language publications. All reviews in this issue are by Jason McQuinn [JM], Tom Wheeler [TW] or Chuck Munson [CM].

**ANARCHIST AGE WEEKLY REVIEW**  
#293/Mar.23 & #315/Aug.31, '98 (POB 20, Parkville, Victoria 3052, Australia; web site: [www.vicnet.net.au/~anarchist](http://www.vicnet.net.au/~anarchist) & [www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/3879](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/3879); e-mail: [anarchistage@geocities.com](mailto:anarchistage@geocities.com)) is a neatly-produced little 4 to 8-page weekly bulletin summarizing Australian & international news for libertarians down-under. Weekly updates are available on the web site and subscriptions are \$50/50 issues or \$10/10 issues. [JM]

**BLACK BADGER**  
#2/undated (POB 508, Berkeley, CA 94701-0508) is an entertaining, unpaginated anarchist personal zine, including a send-up of freshman history essays, thoughts on spirituality, book reviews, an update on Avi Naftel, and a reprint of "When is a Duck Not a Duck? Bob Black after Snitching." Sample copies are \$2; subscriptions \$8/4 issues. [JM]

**CAKE**  
#56-57 thru #62-63/undated (2401 University Ave. NE, Mpls, MN 55418) is a professionally produced music magazine which covers the usual suspects making noise in the alternative/underground/punk rock world. Some of the artists getting ink in these four issues include the Descendents, Poster Children, Superchunk, Guided by Voices, Ani DiFranco, Stereolab, Mike Watt, Joan Jett, David Byrne, Sonic Youth and The Cramps. Although the magazine devotes much of its focus on the more popular, well-established artists, they do feature a lengthy column called "Demorama"

for newer, relatively unknown bands. Subscriptions are \$15/6 issues. [TW]

**CELEBRATE THE SELF**  
**The Magazine of Solo Sex**  
Vol.6, #6/Nov.-Dec.'98 (POB 8888, Mobile, AL 36689; e-mail: [factorpress@zebra.net](mailto:factorpress@zebra.net)) is now a slick, 30-page bimonthly. Primarily male-oriented, this is the only publication of its kind I've ever come across, extolling the many virtues of masturbation. Sample articles and letters from this issue: "Up with Penises," "The Battle at your Neighborhood Library," "A Lifetime of Solo Sex," "To Pierce or Not to Pierce." Each issue includes sections on solo sex news, readers' solo techniques, letters, book & video reviews and product evaluations, along with plenty of revealing photos. It's good to remember that solo sex is always "safe sex." Subscriptions are now \$24.95/year. [JM]

**CINEASTE**  
Vol.XXII, #3 thru Vol.XXIII, #4/undated (POB 2242, New York, NY 10009-8917; e-mail: [cineaste@cineaste.com](mailto:cineaste@cineaste.com)) is a long-running, slick, serious and attractive, 68-page publication billed as "America's leading magazine on the art and politics of the cinema." Vol.XXIII, #3 includes interviews with Michael Moore on his new film *The Big One*, Jim Sheridan (*In the Name of the Father*, *The Boxer*) and Bertrand Tavernier (*Capitaine Conan*), along with a symposium of criticism focussed on Woody Allen's *Deconstructing Harry*, and Philip Lopate's survey of the work of "Yasujiro Ozu; The Subtly Observant Eye," along with pages and pages of current film, home video and book reviews. The latest issue (Vol.XXXIII, #4) features Raymond Durnat's interesting attempt at "Defetishing Buñuel" (a review of several biographies of the surrealist director), an interview with the actor, Stephen Fry, who portrays Oscar Wilde (*Wilde*), an homage to Paul Robeson, and a long interview with the scriptwriter & co-producer of *Smoke Signals*, Sherman Alexie. This is a must for cinema lovers and pop-culture critics. Subscriptions are a reasonable \$18/4 issues. [JM]

**THE CONNECTION**  
#232/Oct. 25, '98 (Erwin Strauss, 10 Hill St, #22-L, Newark, NJ 07102) is an 84-page reader-written APA (long ago titled *The Libertarian Connection*) in which more or less 60 regular contributors ramble on in a never-ending conversation covering topics from religion and politics to science and economics, with a little pseudo-science and wishful thinking thrown in as well. (And, unfortunately, there's still a lot of hot air wasted on Ayn "airhead" Rand.) Ever since changing the type to full-size this zine has become much more readable than in the past, although it isn't up to magazine standards by any means. This issue includes a despicably racist interpretation of "Race and Crime" by Sam Goldbrick, an incredible 25-page melange of "Y2K" clippings on the brewing crisis which will result from Year 2000 computer glitches, and lots of comments on Clinton, Lewinsky, "A House of Hypocrites," etc. This type of free-ranging participatory interaction won't (and can't) be for everybody. But if you have some well-developed ideas you'd like to bounce off some outspoken critics, it may be the place for

you. Sample copies are still \$2.50; subscriptions are \$20/8 issues (checks to Erwin Strauss). [JM]

**DEMOCRACY & NATURE**  
**International Journal of Politics and Ecology**  
#10 (POB 637, Littleton, CO 80160-0637) is a 180-page journal, formerly known as *Society and Nature*, which seeks to create a new, radical democratic synthesis of traditions of socialist (economic), political and ecological democracy. This issue on "Science, Technology and Democracy," includes the editor, Takis Fotopoulos' "Towards a Democratic Conception of Science and Technology," and Jhan Hochman on "Donna J. Haraway and Technology" (critical of her version of the common conception of *neutral* technology). Subscription: \$25/year U.S.A., \$32 Canada. [JM]

**DENDRON**  
**Human Rights & Alternatives in the "Mental Health System"**  
#41-42/Winter '98-9 (POB 11284, Eugene, OR. 97440-3484; [www.efn.org/~dendron](http://www.efn.org/~dendron); e-mail: [dendron@efn.org](mailto:dendron@efn.org)) is an important source of anti-psychiatric news published by the Clearinghouse on Human Rights & Psychiatry. This 48-page newspaper magazine includes articles on continuing efforts to increase forced psychiatric drugging, anti-forced-drugging interventions in Toronto and Washington, DC, and the targeting of blacks and youth for psychiatric drugging, along with numerous other short news pieces and updates. Recommended. Sample copies are \$3 postpaid; subscriptions are \$20/year. [JM]

**DISCUSSION BULLETIN**  
#88/Mar.-April thru #92/Nov.-Dec.'98 (POB 1564, Grand Rapids, MI. 49501) is a 32-page assortment of letters and reprinted articles primarily from the anti-market, non-statist radical milieu. Each issue usually includes several ongoing (and occasionally interesting) debates over the meanings of communism, Marxism and revolution. The Sept.-Oct. issue continues disputes over whether—or to what extent—electoralism is or isn't compatible with revolution, and over the appropriate terms for describing IWW unionism. Nothing too exciting in these issues. Subscriptions are \$3/year (6 issues). [JM]

**DISHWASHER**  
#15/undated (POB 8213, Portland, OR 97207) is a wonderful 40-page zine, full of dishwashing commonplaces and esoterica. In this issue editor Dishwasher Pete recounts his adventures in Louisiana signing on to a galley on a Gulf of Mexico oil platform. Also stories, letters, comics, and quotes as well as an interview with David Wagner, a Spokane dishwasher, zinester and would-be union agitator. This is well worth the \$1 cost. For a good read send for one today! [JM]

**EARTH FIRST!**  
Aug.-Sept. & Sept.-Oct. 1998 (Earth First! Journal, POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440; e-mail: [earthfirst@igc.apc.org](mailto:earthfirst@igc.apc.org); web: <http://www.envirolink.org/orgs/ef>) is the bimonthly magazine from the radical direct action wing of the environmental movement. If you were wondering why the environmental groups in Washington are doing such a lousy job of protecting the envi-



# REVIEWS

## Alternative Press Magazines

ronment, here are some folks that are literally putting their lives on the line. The August issue looks at recent direct action attack in the UK on genetically engineered crops. A cover story reports on a struggle in Australia against the Jabiluka uranium mine. The September issue includes an interesting essay by Patrick Diehl on the Ward Valley Campaign. The Ward Valley is a large section of Nevada that was never deeded to the U.S. through treaty. The campaign has revolved around the rights of the traditional inhabitants, the Mojave, as well as attempts to prevent a nuclear waste dump from opening there. Mojave elder David Harper responds with an essay about how environmentalists fail to understand the spiritual and survival needs of the natives. Also in this issue Winona LaDuke looks at the current plight of the Yellowstone buffalo and Ike Okonta examines the ongoing struggle against oil companies in Nigeria. Each issue is packed full of news stories concerning the environment that just don't get reported in the mainstream press. \$25/year Third Class; \$35/year First Class. [CM]

### EXTRA!

Vol.11, #3/May-June thru #6/Nov.-Dec.'98 (Subscription Services, POB 170, Congers, NY 10920-9930; [www.fair.org](http://www.fair.org)) is the 28-page bimonthly magazine of FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting), a national media watch group seeking "to correct bias and imbalance," published from a liberal perspective. The May-June issue's theme is "Media vs. Democracy," while the theme of the excellent July-Aug. issue is "The Myth of the Liberal Media," featuring Robert Parry "In Search of the Liberal Media," Sam Hussein and Norman Solomon on "The Right-Leaning Rolodex: For sources, journalists most often turn to think tanks of the right," and Janine Jackson's "Doublethink on the Editorial Page." The Nov.-Dec. issue features criticism of the bizarre mainstream media fixation on the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal, including a defense of liberal feminists from the rampant media harassment which has misleadingly labelled them all "hypocrites," and a comparison with the relative absence of critical news coverage of the far more substantial Iran-Contra conspiracy of the Reagan-Bush administration. Recommended. Subscriptions are \$19/year (including the bimonthly newsletter, *EXTRA! Update*). [JM]

### FACTSHEET 5

#### the final word on the zine revolution

#61 thru #64/undated (Seth Friedman, POB 170099, San Francisco, CA. 94117-0099; [www.factsheet5.com](http://www.factsheet5.com)) is back for the last time under helm of publisher Seth Friedman, who announces that the magazine is up for sale to someone who wants to put in the work necessary to continue the F5 tradition begun by Mike Gunderloy. Issue #63 features a survey of "The Art of Zines" by F5 editor Christopher Becker, as well as John Held's "From Dada to DIY: The history of alternative art in the 20th century." Issue #64 is down to a more manageable 120 pages, but still crammed with over 1,000 marginal & alternative press zine, book and comic reviews. This issue also includes Christopher Becker's (editor of the most recent issues) non-ironic "Why I Love the P.O.," and R. Seth

Freidman's "The Factsheet Five Story; Or...Zines Are My Life." This is probably your last chance to get a current issue published by Seth, so if you haven't yet checked out this mother-of-all zine-review zines, do it now! Let's hope Seth finds a worthy successor to continue and improve the legacy. Samples are \$6; subscriptions are still well-worth \$20/6 issues. [JM]

### FREEDOM

#### Anarchist Fortnightly

Vol.59, #5/Mar.7 thru #19/Oct.3, '98 (84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, England) is a long-running 8-page tabloid of anarchist news and comment, primarily focusing on all things British, but also taking on international social struggles as well. The October 1st issue includes "MAI: The Dracula Strategy," and, in fact, *Freedom* has been one of the better sources for information on the MAI (Multilateral Agreement on Investment) due to ability to cover breaking news on the subject every two weeks. Also in this issue is an interesting interview with a Senegalese activist, Moussa Diop. North American subscriptions are £22/year (24 issues). [JM]

### FREE INQUIRY

#### Celebrating Reason and Humanity

Vol.18, #4/Fall '98 (Box 664, Buffalo, NY 14226-0664) is a slick, professionally-produced 68-page quarterly magazine published by the Council for Secular Humanism. The Fall '98 issue features an editorial from long-time editor Paul Kurtz calling for secular humanists to unite and enter the electoral political arena, apparently in a manner similar to the Christian Coalition, which he cites. The rest of the issue is dominated by often-stumbling critiques of postmodernism—the new secular humanist bogeyman (second only to religion), beginning with a short pep-talk excerpt from ant expert E.O. Wilson's correctly titled "Back to the Enlightenment," and followed by Jean Bricmont exposing some of the more absurd pomo scientific and mathematical speculations, Xiaorong Li's sophomoric discussion of "Postmodernism and Universal Human Rights," Theodore Schick, Jr.'s arrogant defense of a universal morality (against perceived threats of subjectivism & cultural relativism), and Harvey Siegel's misguided attempt to refute all epistemological relativism, by arguing against an oxymoronic conception of absolutist relativism. While I'm no defender of postmodernism (quite to the contrary), it continues to amaze me how defenders of Enlightenment thought seem completely unable to seriously grapple with so many of the central criticisms of the Enlightenment tradition made by major postmodern theorists (who, nevertheless, themselves do remain indefensible on other crucial points). Despite the irritatingly shallow level of most articles, this magazine remains an important source for current humanist thinking. Subscriptions are \$28.50/year. [JM]

### GIRLFRIENDS

Vol.5, #7/July thru #11/Nov.'98 (3415 Cesar Chavez St., Suite 101, San Francisco, CA 94110) is a glossy, colorful, and advertising-saturated, "Magazine of Lesbian Enjoyment." Surprisingly, the November issue cover story is "The Purely

Platonic Lesbian Men We Love" (mostly photographic, rich white men at that, including V.P. Al Gore, former White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry, and Levi Strauss CEO Robert Haas), but it also includes a lively interview with Michael Moore, creator of *TV Nation*, *Roger and Me* and *The Big One*. Single copies are \$4.95; subscriptions are now \$29.95/year. [JM]

### GNOSIS

#### A Journal of the Western Inner Tradition

#46/Winter '97 thru #49/Fall '98 (POB 1782, Escondido, CA. 92033) is a well-crafted, non-stuffy, 88-page quarterly journal of gnostic spirituality. The Summer issue is one of the best I've read, covering the topic of "Witchcraft & Paganism" in a fairly conscientious and critical manner, including Judy Harrow's "Explaining Wicca," an interview with Starhawk & Carol Christ, and critical looks at the history of paganism & neo-paganism ("The Old Religion" by editor Richard Smoley, "The Goddess Movement: Past and Present" by Carol LeMasters, a very interesting essay titled "The Red God: Woodcraft and the Origins of Wicca" by John Greer & Gordon Cooper, and "When is a Celt Not a Celt?" by Joanna Nautin-Mayer). The Fall issue focusses on a rather soft, uncritical view of "The New Age," including Itha Nation's amazingly confused & rather clueless "Notes of a New Age Survivor," Patrick Miller's superficial "News of the New Age" (complaining about poor mainstream media coverage of a phenomenon which actually gets more than its share of uncritical exposure in the media), an interview with "Harmonic Convergence" gurus José & Lloydine Arguelles, and Bob Banner's report on his departure from a New Age cult in "Escape from Utopia." Despite taking almost all varieties of spiritual ideology a bit too seriously for my taste, this remains one of the more enjoyable reads of this genre of magazines. Recommended. Subscriptions are still \$20/year; but sample copies are now \$10 postpaid. [JM]

### GREEDY BASTARD

#14/undated (POB 1014, Yonkers, NY 10704) is an unpaginated punk zine filled with band interviews, reviews and silly articles such as "How to Blow Up Ham in 23 Steps". No price is given so I suggest you send a buck for a sample copy. [TW]

### GREEN ANARCHIST

#### For the destruction of Civilization

#53/Fall '98 (BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX, England) is an always interesting, 20 to 24-page eco-anarchist tabloid with a big emphasis on direct actions. The Fall issue features an update on the release of the GAndALF Three from prison, several critiques of schools & education, including a reprint from Su Negrin's classic book *Begin at Start*, along with Leigh Starcross' thoughts on the Unabomber. Each issue also includes a "Diary of Ecodefense," a "Diary of Animal Liberation," and a "Diary of Community Resistance" (despite the fact that GA editors were jailed for publishing precisely this type of information), as well as reviews, commentary and much more. This zine is well worth the price at £5/5 issues. [JM]



# REVIEWS

## Alternative Press Magazines

### HARPER'S

#1782/Nov. '98 (Subscription Dept., POB 7511, Red Oak, IA 51591-0511) is a slick, 90-page monthly edited and produced with an understated, literate style that makes it one of the best of all mainstream US magazines. Although not an alternative magazine itself, it is one of the few well established periodicals to freely reprint from alternative press titles as well as a wide variety of other, often unusual, sources. The November issue features a very interesting look at "Why Americans Are Not Taught History" by Christopher Hitchens, and Ken Silverstein's humorous account of "The Radioactive Boy Scout: When a teenager attempts to build a breeder reactor." The cover price is \$3.95; subscriptions are \$21/year. [JM]

### INDUSTRIAL NATION

#15/Summer 1997 (3420 N. Halsted, Chicago, IL 60657-2415) is a thick 96-page magazine devoted to industrial and electronic music loaded with interviews and features, scene reports, reviews and columns. Featured artists in the summer issue include My Life With the Thrill Kill Kult, Martin Atkins, Laibach, and Switchblade Symphony. A one-year subscription is \$10.00 (4-issues) and includes a free CD sampler. [TW]

### INSURGENT

unnumbered/Oct., '98 (Erb Memorial Union, Suite One, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403), formerly **The Student Insurgent**, is now a 16-page, generic leftist, multicultural student newspaper. This issue pushes the Socialist Party USA. There's not much to recommend this unless you can get it free and you're stuck on the U. of Oregon campus. Subscriptions are now \$15/year. [JM]

### IN THESE TIMES

Vol.22, #17 thru #26/Nov.29, '98 (Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647) is a professionally-produced, 30-page fortnightly "alternative newsmagazine" providing an ongoing left-liberal perspective on major national and international news stories in a uniquely timely manner—impossible for periodicals appearing less frequently. The Sept. 20th issue includes a good take by Christopher Ott on "The False Promise of educational technology" (remember the fiasco of ETV-Educational Television?) and Lawrence Soley on the increasingly direct integration of U.S. universities into the corporate marketplace. The Nov. 1st issue wishes fervently for the US to vote Democrat on Nov. 3rd. Subscriptions are \$34.95/year (26 issues), or \$18.95/6 months. [JM]

### MOTHER JONES

Vol.23, #6/Nov.-Dec. '98 (POB 469024, Escondido, CA 92046-9838) is a very slick, professionally-produced, 96-page bimonthly magazine featuring left-liberal news and commentary, with an emphasis on investigative journalism that's hard to find anywhere else. The Nov.-Dec. issue—as good as any issue I've ever seen of this magazine—features "The Mother Jones 400," an interesting annual survey of the biggest US electoral political donors. Also included are a (very justifiably) critical look at "socially responsible" investment funds, an interview with

Senator John McCain, and Ken Silverstein on the US nuclear personnel "Security Meltdown." The gaudy, hyperactive new re-design makes **MJ** look more like a political version of now defunct **Might** magazine than its old staid self. Subscriptions are still just \$18/year. [JM]

### MUSELETTER

#83/Nov.'98 (Richard Heinberg, 1433 Olivet Rd., Santa Rosa, CA. 95401; e-mail: rheinberg@igc.org; [www.museletter.com/museletter/](http://www.museletter.com/museletter/)) is a very readable 4-page monthly comment zine "of cultural renewal." Each issue usually includes one substantial essay or review by publisher Richard Heinberg, who is currently working on a new book on the "moral impact of biotechnology." The November issue features a sophisticated discussion of "The Construction of Scientific Reality"—critical of reductionist, mechanistic biology and its dangerous project of genetic engineering. Subscriptions are \$15/year. [JM]

### MUTANT RENEGADE ZINE

#8 (POB 3445, Dayton, OH 45401-3445; e-mail: mutantrenegade@juno.com) is an unpaginated newsprint punk zine that looks like the typical record store free punk zine. This is the "Human Rights" issue, so it includes an article by Anti-Racist Action Michigan. Includes comics, music reviews, and photos from the Horde festival. \$1.50. [CM]

### NAMBLA BULLETIN

Vol.19, #2/Oct.'98 (POB 174, Midtown Sta., New York, NY. 10018; [www.nambla.org](http://www.nambla.org)) is the 28-page magazine of the North American Man/Boy Love Association, founded "to organize support for boys and men who have or desire consensual sexual and emotional relationships," a goal which has been repeatedly subject to harassment and attempts at entrapment due to the prevailing currents of anti-sexual and ageist hysteria evident especially in the U.S. Each issue includes relevant news reports, letters and fiction. This issue includes descriptions of the cases of two prominent men who have been "outed" as boy-lovers in recent years, Dr. Carleton Gajdusek and Arthur C. Clarke. The cover price is \$4.95; subscriptions are \$40/year for nonmembers. [JM]

### PLAZM

#17 & #18 (Plazm Media Collective, POB 2863, Portland, OR 97208-2863; e-mail: editor@plazm.com; web: <http://www.plazm.com>) is a glossy quarterly magazine for the typographically minded. Obviously aimed at graphic designers and **Wired** magazine layout geeks, **Plazm** does contain a few nuggets of interest other than fonts. The design of the magazine changes with each issue, so the Table of Contents and the review section may look completely different (and hard to find in the case of the former). The review section is the best part of **Plazm**; issue 18 reviews everything from porn, to video games, to CDs. Several books on pirate radio and billboards are reviewed. And yes, you can order the fonts used in each issue. \$16 USA; \$22 Canada. [CM]

### PLAZM

#19/undated (POB 2863, Portland, OR. 97208-2863) is an often visually impressive, unpagin-

ated, oversized art-mag, featuring short essays & fiction, some strong graphics, a notably free reign on typographical design (with all fonts for sale!), all "dedicated to the unrestricted expression of ideas, beyond the constraints of any single medium." As with more mainstream magazines dealing with the more commercial arts (like font-design & fashion), some of the stuff in this issue, however, seems to erase the line between promotional advertising and editorial content too much for my taste—with everything seeming to be for sale. Be that as it may, most notable in this issue are an interview with (an archetypal self-promoter) "Rainbow Man" by Sam Green, and series of portrait photos by Cherie Hiser (re-shot after the passage of a generation) along with a commentary by Jon Raymond titled "Re: Visions." Subscriptions are now \$12/year. [JM]

### POPSMEAR MAGAZINE

#16 (50 West 23rd St, 6th Fl, New York, NY 10010; web: <http://www.popsmeat.com>) is an 84-page glossy pop culture and humor magazine with a distinct New York flavor. If the folks at **The Onion** did a glossy magazine, it would look a lot like **POPSmeat**. This issue includes the "Louis Farrakhan African Name Generator," "Rejected Dr. Seuss Books," and doctored photos depicting Mayor Giuliani in various disguises. Other features include profiles of B-Movie director Russ Meyer and comedian Colt 40 Feinberg who "takes on honky culture." \$3/issue; \$15/6 issues. [CM]

### PR WATCH

Vol.5, #3/Third Quarter '98 (3318 Gregory St., Madison, WI 53711; website: [www.prwatch.org](http://www.prwatch.org)) is a very important 12-page newsletter of "Public Interest Reporting on the Public Relations Industry," certainly one of the pillars of capitalist ideological strength. This issue features "Keeping America Safe from Democracy," an overview of the ever-increasing activities of pseudo-grassroots corporate PR groups, by editors Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber. This eye-opening publication should be checked out by every activist citizens' group in order to better understand the nature of the well-funded PR campaigns they invariably find themselves fighting. Subscriptions are \$35/year. [JM]

### PUNCTURE

#38/early '97 thru #41/Spring '98 (POB 14806, Portland, OR 97293) is a 70-80 page publication which claims to be "the magazine about music that matters." I'm not quite sure exactly what kind of music is supposed to be relevant these days, but according to the folks at this publication, Atari Teenage Riot, The Dandy Warhols and Pavement are a few of the artists that are creating "music that matters." **Puncture** also has a huge record review section with lengthy, detailed reviews of the latest records ranging from remote and obscure indies to the latest releases from more well-established labels. Subscriptions are \$10/4 issues. [TW]

### RAVEN

**Anarchist Quarterly**  
#36/Autumn '97 & #37/Spring '98 (Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High St, London, E1 7QX, England) is a 96-page journal covering a different subject in each issue. The Autumn



# REVIEWS

## Alternative Press Magazines

issue focusses on "Class Struggle and Social Protest," including contributions from David Douglass on "The Relevance of Class in Class War" (a simple regurgitation of the old workerist line), Guy Cheverton on the Liverpool dockers' struggle, Albert Shore on "Managing the Unemployed" (in Britain), and Norman Stock on last winter's general strike in France, along with further thoughts on class struggle by editor Donald Rooum, Jean Pollard and Peter Neville. The Spring issue focusses on "Anarchism in the Americas and China," with two contributions from Hsi Hsuan-Wou on the situation in China, a long, interesting piece on "Cowboys and Indians: the dumbing down of American myths" by Karl Young, and J.W. Baker on "Native American Anarchism" (not the anarchism of Native Americans, but the Euro-American anarchist tradition which developed somewhat independently from European anarchism in the last century). Subscriptions are £14/year. [JM]

### RECLAIMING QUARTERLY

#70/Spring to #72/Autumn '98 (POB 14404, San Francisco, CA. 94114; e-mail: newsletter@reclaiming.org; website: [www.reclaiming.org/cauldron/](http://www.reclaiming.org/cauldron/)) has now grown to a 56-page pagan magazine, still "working to unify spirit and politics." The Autumn issue includes a short account of Starhawk's trip to Malta, accounts of eco-actions (against the Ward Valley nuclear waste dump and against logging the Headwaters Forest), along with a breathless account titled "Avalon: Site of the First-Ever Witchcamp in England." Essential if paganism is your thing. Subscriptions are now \$20-\$50/year. [JM]

### RED & BLACK

#28/Spring '98 (POB 12, Quaama, N.S.W., 2550, Australia) is a long-running, 40-page Australian anarchist journal. This issue includes a commemoration of the May '68 rebellion in France, documents on the recent unemployed movements there, and a critique of the co-optation of the Haymarket Monument in Chicago by slimy liberals, duplicitous academics & anti-revolutionary leftists. Subscriptions have increased to \$10/year (2 issues). [JM]

### SKEPTICAL INQUIRER

Vol.22, #3/May-June thru Vol.22, #6/Nov.-Dec.'98 (Box 703, Buffalo, NY 14226-0703) is the always readable and often interesting 70-page bimonthly "Magazine for Science and Reason," published by the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal (CSICOP). Although its writers too often promote a dogmatic scientism in their approaches, they nevertheless occasionally provide genuinely unbiased evidence to debunk many of the non-scientific targets that they investigate and analyze. The Nov.-Dec. issue is one of the best I've seen, featuring James Côté & Paul Shankman's debunkings of the very poorly-documented (but extremely persistent and aggressive) allegations by Derek Freeman that Margaret Mead was "hoaxed" by Samoan teenagers (supposedly resulting in the tainting of all subsequent anthropology with the errors of cultural relativism!). However, the credibility of this magazine seems to be increasingly undermined by prolific, yet unexamined conflicts of interest

regarding authors and their sources of funding and organizational support, especially (for example) with regard to its one-sided attacks on alternative medicine. Despite its overt biases and conflicts of interest, this journal often does include worthwhile & critical information for our overly gullible society. Subscriptions are \$35/year. [JM]

### SUB-TERRAIN

#23/Winter & #24/Spring 1998 (#204-A, 175 East Broadway, Vancouver, BC, V5T 1W2, Canada) is a 56-page quarterly literary magazine featuring a mixture of fiction, poetry, commentary and visual art. Items of interest include an interview with poet and musician Robert Priest in issue #23, and Vern Huffman's "Roswell: UFO Capital of the World ..." in issue #24. A four-issue subscription is \$18. [TW]

### THREE RIVER CONFLUENCE

Spring '98 (POB 63232, St. Louis, MO 63163; e-mail: mquercus@hotmail.com) is now a 12-page tabloid of environmental news for the Mississippi River Valley and Ozark bioregion, with a 4-page edition of *The Gateway Greens' Compost-Dispatch* piggybacked on the end. The cover story of this issue of the *Confluence* is "Defining Sustainable Agriculture," and there's also a description of St. Louis' "CoLibri: Cooperative Housing for Activists," along with lots of other regional social/environmental news. Everyone in the Mississippi/Ozarks region should be reading this paper! Send a donation for a sample copy today. [JM]

### UTNE READER

#90/Nov.-Dec.'98 (POB 7459, Red Oak, IA 51591-2459) is by now a mostly-mainstream, advertising-infested, 128-page "alternative press" reader for new age/baby boom liberals, concentrating on reprinting articles from the more mainstream of "alternative" publications, along with a small number of genuinely alternative pieces thrown in. This issue features a cover theme of "Stuff: Can We Escape." Most notably it includes a craven, yet self-satisfied confession by Ted Kaczynski's brother and sister-in-law about the genesis of their decision to turn in Unabomber Ted Kaczynski (reprinted from, of all places, the *Journal of Family Life*!). Also included are a timeline of "simple living" compromises by Linda Tatelbaum titled "My Not-So-Simple Résumé" (which would have been worth expanding into a much longer piece), and a good survey of radical infoshops by Chris Dodge (from *American Libraries*). Subscriptions are now \$19.97/year (6 issues). [JM]

## First Time Listings

### 3a.m.

Vol.1, #2/undated (808 Clark St #1, Evanston, IL 60201) is a new 36-page, student-produced college magazine out of Northwestern U. in Illinois which aims to offer an alternative to traditional college magazines. The magazine has a certain air of irreverence and humor, but

sometimes it seems more interested in appearing "hip" and "cutting-edge." The promo blurb for 3a.m. claims, "It's like Seinfeld on paper." Indeed. [TW]

### ALTERNATOR

#### eight stories by Carrie Golus

(Goelch Publications, 1628 W. Balmoral Ave., Chicago, IL 60640; e-mail: goelch@earthlink.net) is a 24-page graphic mini-booklet which tells several related stories about some young artists. A teenage girl talks about how she feels gloomy about the world. A young guy talks about how he is a genius artist who is so "raw" that nobody understands him. These characters and several others interact over the phone. Donation? [CM]

### AMERICAN JONES

#### BUILDING & MAINTENANCE

#2/Summer & #3/Fall 1998 (Missing Spoke Press, POB 9569, Seattle, WA 98109; web: [www.singspeak.com](http://www.singspeak.com)) is a literary journal with a down home, unpretentious feel to it. The prose pieces are mercifully short and the poetry is, by and large, about real life and easy to read. This real world focus is evident in such poems (Issue 2) as Cynthia Gallaher's "Deb at the Ham Slicer," which meditates on a woman who works at a Mini Mart and DJ Delaney's poems about how commercialism has destroyed American community life. Issue 3 has a nice woodcut on the cover that illustrates a quote from Theodore Roszak about why communities don't exist for the convenience of those interested in profit. \$12 (4 issues); \$6/single copy. [CM]

### APE

#1,000,006 (Dave Gracon, 6698 E. Eden Rd., Hamburg, NY 14075) is an unpaginated free-form zine that includes a lot of cut and paste layout. Interesting bits include a review of documentary films, fictional "Underground movements of the future," and "Wide Right: Why the Bills should leave town," which was obviously written before Doug Flutie became QB. \$1 [CM]

### ARA NEWS

January 26, 1998 (Anti-Racist Action, POB 82097, Columbus, OH 43202) is a 24-page newsletter published by Anti-Racist Action, a midwestern group monitoring and agitating against the activities of KKK, Nazi, white supremacists, and other hate groups in North America. No price is given so I suggest you send a buck for a sample copy. [TW]

### BULLDADA

#6 (PO Box 3223, Frederick, MD 21705-3223; e-mail: sgravell@ix.netcom.com; web: <http://www2.netcom.com/~sgravell/YendieBoox.html>) is a 20-page opinion and review zine that demonstrates nicely what one can do with a Macintosh and a color printer. The editors seem to know the zine scene pretty well, with some comments about supporting the Alternative Press Expo and some rants about the comics industry. This issue also includes some comments on how to live frugally. \$4.50 each [CM]

### BULLDADA

#7/undated (Yendie Boox Publishing, POB 3223, Frederick, MD 21705-3223; [www2.netcom.com](http://www2.netcom.com)).



# REVIEWS

## Alternative Press Magazines

**com/-sgravell/YendieBoox**; e-mail: [sgravell@ix.netcom.com](mailto:sgravell@ix.netcom.com)) is a colorful 40-page opinion zine with a bad attitude about a lot of things that seem to deserve it. This issue features an inside cover piece on "How to avoid getting ripped off by scumbag printers," along with a short rant against copyright lawyers and trademark lawsuits by megacorporations like Disney and Mattel. Also included is comic industry news and reviews of zines & comics. Sample copies are \$4.50; subscriptions are \$14/4 issues. [JM]

### THE BURNING BLIMP MANIFESTO

#3/Summer 1998 (POB 473, Meredith, NH 03253; e-mail: [burningblimp@hotmail.com](mailto:burningblimp@hotmail.com); web: <http://members.xoom.com/theblimp/blimp.html>) is a nice little 32-page anarchist zine that shows that one can get a political message across and do so creatively. The color cover features Rosie the Riveter with a Circle A. Inside the Blimp are articles by Subcomandante Marcos of the Zapatistas, info about animal rights, and new words for Elton John's tribute to that infamous dead princess. \$3/issue; \$12/4 issues. Checks payable to William C. Pelon. [CM]

### CAFE EIGHTIES

Vol.4, No.2 & 3, Vol.5, No.1/Summer & Autumn 1996 (POB 8068, FDR Station, New York, NY 10150) is a slick, professionally-produced magazine oozing '80s nostalgia with features on such artists as Thomas Dolby, Haircut 100, Flesh for Lulu, Adam Ant, and Greg Kihn. Other features include a guide to those dreaded '80s pop music compilations, and a look at John Travolta and Brooke Shields. Unfortunately, most of the coverage is only within the narrow confines of what was happening in pop music and Hollywood--arguably some of the very worst the '80s had to offer. A four issue subscription is \$18.00 [TW]

### THE CATAPILLAR PRESS

Vol.1, No.2, Vol.2, No.2, Vol.3, No.2, Vol.4, No.1, Vol.5, No.1/undated (2252 South 17th, Tacoma, WA 98405) is a publication which is primarily an entertainment zine to promote the rock group Smoking Catapillar. Each issue of this zine focuses on a particular theme with one issue devoted to sex, another on politics and government, one on race, another on death, and one on religion. No price was listed for a sample copy. [TW]

### CGBC

#7 (c/o Chelsea White, 12835 Perry, Overland Park, KS 66213; e-mail: [princessnez@worldnet.att.net](mailto:princessnez@worldnet.att.net); web: <http://eagle.cc.ukans.edu/~icellis/htm>) is a 48-page newsprint magazine for hep swingers. Since swing music is the new thing, the scene probably needs its own zines. This issue includes a guide to swing joints in Kansas City, an interview with a Patsy Cline impersonator, a profile of rockabilly girl singers, and an overview of swing record labels. Includes record and zine reviews. \$3/one issue; \$10/4 issues [CM]

### THE COMPASS

#1/Spring '98 (POB 3354, Eugene, OR 97403-3354; [www.efn.org/~compass](http://www.efn.org/~compass); [compass@efn.org](mailto:compass@efn.org)) is a new 48-page, "non-partisan" magazine for "progressive" activists to "share experiences

drawn from current and ongoing struggles for economic and political democracy, freedom from all forms of oppression, ecological sanity, and anti-militarism." Literate, competent, generic leftist pieces on Winona LaDuke (an interesting interview), right-wing campus organizing, and the Asian economic collapse. Subscriptions are \$24/year. [JM]

### CRAP-O-RAMMA

#6/undated (POB 19554, Portland, OR 97280) is a 24-page, digest-sized zine which features an interview with the Blue Meanies sharing their thoughts about taking a crap, a playful advice column, comics, a lengthy personal article entitled "Work Sucks But I Need the Bucks" which chronicles the editor's experiences (most of them bad) as a lowly wage slave in a variety of jobs (pizza restaurants, telemarketing, ski resorts, carwash, etc.), and the entertaining "Horror-Scopes." A sample issue is available for a buck. [TW]

### CRAWFISH!

#11/Fall 1998 (Stephanie Webb, 740-A 14th Street #185, San Francisco, CA 94114) is a spunky 40-page personal zine in which Stephanie Webb comes out of the closet and admits that she is...FAT! She gleefully celebrates this public revelation with a editorial, "Yes Fat Chicks!" that concludes with a headstrong statement: "Most people look at a fat person and see someone who's disgusting, lazy, weak-willed. Me, I see someone who hasn't let the bastards win." Stephanie also weighs in with some rather unflattering commentary in "Some Thoughts on the Last Issue of Factsheet 5 or R. Seth Friedman Is Not the Center of the Universe," some suggestions on making the task of voting more interesting, and a series of journal entries recounting her day as a sleep-deprived office slave. Send \$2 for a sample; subscriptions are \$6/4 issues. [TW]

### CRUSH DUCHES

#1/May-June '97 (RR.1, Box 24, Stilwell, OK 74960-9801) is a 28-page, digest-sized, photocopied personal zine which features an article about infamous Tuskegee syphilis study, a rather unscientific survey to test how racially and sexually integrated television has become, some personal information about the editor's family, as well as some opinions regarding the racist terminology used by Fuzzy Zoeller in characterizing the current pro golf sensation, Tiger Woods. A sample issue is \$1. [TW]

### CULTURAL SURVIVAL QUARTERLY

Vol.22, #1/Spring 1998 (Cultural Survival, Inc., 96 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, MA 02138; e-mail: [csinc@cs.org](mailto:csinc@cs.org); website: [www.cs.org](http://www.cs.org)) is a 64-page glossy magazine focussing on indigenous issues around the world. This issue looks at changing native education, with stories on "Teaching Tribal Histories form a Native Perspective" and "Indigenous Rights and Schooling in Highland Chiapas." Solid articles and a nice design make this a magazine worth reading. \$45/year [CM]

### DARK NIGHT FIELD NOTES

#10/Summer 1997; #11/1998 (Dark Night Press, PO Box 3629, Chicago, IL 60690-3629; e-mail: [darknight@igc.apc.org](mailto:darknight@igc.apc.org)) is a very readable and

well-designed quarterly journal about indigenous peoples and prisons. Issue #11 on "Maximum Security Democracy" has an excellent article by Ward Churchill on the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the International Tribunal held last year to examine his case. Ken Silverstein examines "America's Private Gulag" and the corporations that profit from prisons. Stephen Hartnett relates the history of prison labor and Javier Elorriaga interviews fellow inmate Rafael Lopez Santis about his experiences in Chiapas. Issue 10 on "Sovereignty in the era of neo-liberalism" includes Subcomandante Marcos on "Seven Loose Pieces of the Global Jigsaw Puzzle," Aziz Choudry on "APEC, Free Trade & 'Economic Sovereignty,'" and Ward Churchill analyzes "Subterfuge and 'Self-Determination': Suppression of Indigenous Sovereignty in the Twentieth Century United States." Both issues include poetry and book reviews. One of the best magazines on prisons and indigenous issues that this reviewer has seen lately. \$4/issue; \$15/one year. [CM]

### DAS REICH

#5 March/April 109 year of fire (Reichsfolk, POB 286, Auburn, TN 48706-0286; e-mail: [reichsfolk@hotmail.com](mailto:reichsfolk@hotmail.com); web: <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Delphi/8816>) is a bimonthly, color laser-printed religious zine devoted to the worship of dead German dictator Adolf Hitler. This issue includes lots of photos of Hitler, several color romanticized portraits of some Teutonic statues, and some liturgical poetry. Most of the articles are devoted to promoting the "Aryan Destiny." Samples are \$4 ppd; subscriptions are \$15 US/\$20 Canada. Selective trades. [CM]

### DRIVER'S SIDE AIRBAG

#28 & #31/undated (PO Box 25760, Los Angeles, CA 90025) is a 60-page collection of works from a variety of folks including Sieergy & Roberts' Cultural Jetlag comics, artwork from Brian Wilson, writings from Mickey Z., the Rev. Chris Korda from the Church of Euthanasia, Nick DiSpoldo, Robert Howington, and lots and lots of poetry. Send \$4 for a sample copy. [TW]

### FABULA

Vol.2, #1 & #2 (Fabula Magazine, 55 Norfolk St. Suite #202, San Francisco, CA 94103; e-mail: [fabula@vsn.com](mailto:fabula@vsn.com); web: <http://www.fabula-mag.com>) is a glossy quarterly magazine for and about women. Unlike most glossy women's magazines, this one is interesting, even to this male reviewer. #1 includes a tribute to the late Kathy Acker, widely known for her post-modern fiction. Other subjects covered include independent filmmakers, transsexuality, the "G-Spot Conspiracy," and a magazine called "Poor" which attempts to be an artistic voice for the poor. Issue #2 has a fascinating photo spread and story on three blue-collar women: a firefighter, a bridge painter, and a sheet metal journeywoman. This issue also includes a profile of Sunny Schwartz who directs programs to help educate prisoners, an article on the International Women's Flag Football Association, and an interview Nancy Emerson who is a "stunt surfer." \$12.95/year [CM]



# REVIEWS

## Alternative Press Magazines

### FABULA

#### For the Female Mind

Vol.2,#3/undated (55 Norfolk St, #202, S.F., CA 94103; e-mail: [fabula@vsn.com](mailto:fabula@vsn.com); [www.fabula.com](http://www.fabula.com)) is a relatively new but very slick, 48-page, quarterly general-interest magazine for women. This issue features a fairly straight and unexciting medical description of migraine headaches by Maggie Trapp in "Bewitched, Bothered & Bewildered," another tired, liberal appeal to support the US government through voting in "The Politics of a New Generation" by Angela Davis, Miranda Crowell's superficial and relatively uncritical take on depression ("Out of the Dark"), and a close look at Native American actress Irene Bedard (*Pocahontas*, *Smoke Signals*). From this one issue it's hard to say how valuable this magazine will be, though it's easy to see that the publisher is serious about trying to make it a commercial success. With a more challenging agenda it could make a mark, otherwise it may just end up as a slick vehicle for corporate ads aimed at young women. Subscriptions are \$12.95/year. [JM]

### FELDSPAR

Vol.1,No.2/undated (Elevator Blue Publications, POB 1731, St. Charles, MO 63302) is a 20-page digest-sized zine containing a haphazard mixture of poetry, comics, reviews and opinions with occasional references to the greatness of "God" and how "God is on our side." This issue also contains the results of a survey sent to people in the Christian music business. Send \$2 for a sample copy. [TW]

### FLIPSIDE

#113/July-Aug. 1998 (POB 60790, Pasadena, CA 91116; e-mail: [flipside@ix.netcom.com](mailto:flipside@ix.netcom.com)) is a bimonthly 100+ page compendium of everything happening in punk music. Interviewed bands include ADZ, Snuka, Bad Religion, Gaza Strippers, and The Hormones. Not much politics here, but this issue includes an interview with persecuted comics artist Mike Diana. \$3/issue (US); \$4.25/issue Canada; \$15/6 issues. [CM]

### FLOTSAM 5

undated (4142 SE Liebe St, Portland, OR 97202) is a 28-page, digest-sized zine of poetry, fiction, essays and artwork, including one rather amusing piece titled "Bouncy Dog Rants - The State of Creative Arts in America," which blasts abstract art for its blandness. A four issue subscription is \$12.00. [TW]

### FLOWERS FROM THE RAIN

#1/Movement (Robert Sutter III, POB 315, Arcata, CA 95518) is a 66-page personal zine that collects the author's writings from his zine *the rain that fell last night made me fall in love with you*. This zine starts with a personal history, how the author managed to balance being a poor punk artist with living true to his artistic needs. Plenty of politics here with sections devoted to the emptiness of consumerism, the struggle against relocation at Big Mountain, Critical Mass biking, and Earth First! direct actions. \$4/issue. [CM]

### GANNETT WATCH

#2/undated (1400 W Elizabeth #326, Fort Collins, CO 80521; e-mail: [rjg71@holly.ColoState](mailto:rjg71@holly.ColoState)).

edu) is a very interesting 8-page newsletter critical of newspaper chains, unfortunately printed in extremely small type, which may make it unreadable for many people. The publisher's primary complaint seems to be that chains like Gannett and Knight-Ridder concentrate on eliminating competition so that they can soak the towns they monopolize for much bigger advertising bucks than they would get if there was any real competition. By his estimates this works out to an extra \$10.8 million in advertising costs in Fort Collins, CO and \$17.5 million in Boulder, CO. Send a contribution for a sample copy. [JM]

### G.R.A.B.

#1 & #2/3 (double issue)/undated (735 Merrill Ave, Fond du lac, WI 54935) is an amateurish, photocopied zine containing a mish-mash of poetry, artwork, articles, reprints and reviews. Items of interest in the first issue include a reprint of an Anarchist Youth Federation pamphlet regarding how the educational system is an agent of control, a reprint on how to organize a local Food Not Bombs, and an article on the evolving zine phenomenon. The follow-up double issue reprints an entire issue of Ernest Mann's *Little Free Press* from 1995, a history of the HIV-Aids "fraud," and some thoughts on vegetarianism. Send \$3 for a sample copy. [TW]

### THE GREAT BLUE BEACON

#2/April 1998 (1425 Patriot Drive, Melbourne, FL 32940) is an informative 8-page newsletter geared towards writers of all genres regardless of skill level. This issue provides useful tips on writing non-fiction articles for magazines, pertinent information regarding writing contests and some brief information on a handful of markets both accomplished and aspiring writers should consider. Send \$1 plus SASE for a sample copy. [TW]

### GREAT GOD PAN

#10/undated (POB 401, Hermosa Beach, CA 90254) is an 80-page magazine covering a rather quirky assortment of features ranging from stories and photos of punk icons The Misfits, to several stories revolving around Bigfoot, mind control experiments, cults, and psychic phenomenon. This issue looks at the history of The Process Church which was formed by a pair of former members of the L. Ron Hubbard's Church of Scientology, as well as articles on Yuri Geller and Edward G. Lansdale (a paranormal propagandist and US counterinsurgency spy). Another interesting article looks at the connections between the Pentagon and Palo Alto's private Stanford University after WWII. Send \$3 for a sample copy. [TW]

### GROPING FOR LUNA

#7 & #8/undated (POB 953, Del Mar, CA 92014) is an unpaginated, digest-sized zine featuring a mixture of random thoughts and stories, comix and collages, interviews and music reviews. Issue #8 features a page listing John Belushi and John Candy under the caption "Party's Over Fatty" while listing Chris Farley as the "batter on deck," correctly predicting the demise of the SNL actor months in advance. Each issue also features regular columns such as "Random Spew," "The Lawgiver" as well as

plenty of indie music reviews. Send a buck plus two stamps for a sample copy. [TW]

### GROUNDWORK

*Exploring Community, Mobility, Scale & Trade* Vol.1,#1/Summer 1998 (Institute for Local Self-Reliance, 1313 Fifth St SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414) is a new 24-page quarterly journal put out by the nonprofit research and educational organization known as the Institute for Local Self-Reliance. *Groundwork* focuses primarily on developing ways to promote and enable local communities by encouraging local control and environmentally-friendly economic development strategies as well as providing critical analysis and examination of a variety of topics through a community-oriented lens. Articles of interest include "Designing Streets: Weighing Community and Mobility" which describes the current American traffic system as unfriendly and dangerous to pedestrians, and "Rooting the Home Team" which promotes the idea of community ownership of professional sports teams. Subscriptions are \$28/4 issues. [TW]

### HERMENAUT

#### The Digest of Heady Philosophy

#13/Summer '98 (POB 141, Allston, MA 02134; [www.birdhouse.org/words/hermenaut/](http://www.birdhouse.org/words/hermenaut/); e-mail: [editors@hermenaut.com](mailto:editors@hermenaut.com)) is a handsome 106-page journal with unusual perspectives on topics literary and philosophical, ranging from amused to flippant to seriously attentive. Everything is readable and much is interesting, despite the inevitably resulting unevenness. This issue on the subject of "Vertigo," features editor Joshua Glenn's serious profile of "Hermenaut of the Month: Charles Baudelaire," a comic titled "Dizzy Dame" by Dame Darcy, a description of a washed-out attempt at an interview with Evel Knievel, the history of suicide attempts at the UC Berkeley Campanile, and much more—a somewhat strange concoction altogether. Check this out if you like your zines on the more sophisticated, but still light-hearted, side. The cover price is \$6; subscriptions are \$20/4 issues. [JM]

### IMPACT

#14-16/Apr-May 1998 thru Aug-Sep 1998 (10151 University Blvd, Suite 151, Orlando, FL 32817) is a 48-page newspaper zine featuring a variety of articles, opinion columns and lots of punk music reviews. A broad range of views are represented in the articles and opinion pieces, from anti-government/libertarian perspectives to liberal-left to reactionary anti-worker, pro-corporate rants. Send \$2 for a sample copy. [TW]

### THE INNER SWINE

Vol.4,#2/June & #3/Sept. 1998 (293 Griffith St. #9, Jersey City, NJ 07307) is a personal zine with plenty of attitude. One problem with personal zines is that they can fall flat if the zine is excessively self-referential and the author just isn't very interesting. A rant about MTV's *Real World* falls flat, but a screed about how New York radio sucks is a step in a more interesting direction. \$3/issue; \$5/year. [CM]

### THE JOURNAL OF STABILITY

#1 (POB 35078, Edmonton, AB, T5K 2R8, Canada; e-mail: [jimmyjimjim@hotmail.com](mailto:jimmyjimjim@hotmail.com)) is a 40-page personal zine reflecting what is



# REVIEWS

## Alternative Press Magazines

happening in Edmonton, Canada. An interview with the band The Weakerthans includes an interesting discussion of the Winnipeg anarchist scene. Also included is a rant about school, some more band interviews, and instructions on how to make ketchup bombs. \$1 [CM]

### LET IT BE KNOWN

#### experiences of [women] activists

#1 (c/o Student Environment Center, Student Union Bldg., 6138 Student Union Blvd., Vancouver, BC, V6T 1Z1, Canada; e-mail: alert@unixg.ubc.ca) is an excellent compilation of writings by women activists. Of special interest is a piece that explains hypothetical situations in activist groups and how a female and male activist would respond. An account of being arrested and mistreated by cops following a protest in Guelph, Ontario is riveting. Also updates from anarcho-feminists in Poland and the Czech Republic, poetry about being a black lesbian, and much more. The appearance may look rough, but the zine contains some of the most valuable insights about activism that I have read in years. [CM]

### LIES MAGAZINE

#17/The Horror issue (1112 San Pedro NE #154, Albuquerque, NM 87110; e-mail: Okeefine@aol.com) is 44-page magazine that is hard to characterize, but smells like a pop culture zine. The most interesting thing here is how they review music. The review section is arranged in a grid. The first column includes a thumbnail pic of the album with artist and title. Next is the category "Sounds like..." which, for example, describes Tribe 8 as "Anarchy and lesbians." The last two columns are titled "Cool Mix Tape Song" and "Cool Line." Very original. Includes fiction and book reviews. \$3/issue. [CM]

### MAGNET

#### real music alternatives

#28/April-May '97 thru #35/Jul-Aug '98 (1218 Chestnut St., Ste 808, Philadelphia, PA 19107-4816) is a slick, professional-looking alternative rock music magazine featuring plenty of news, information, interviews and reviews of indie bands and alternarock hipsters. If indie rock is your bag, *Magnet* does a pretty decent job of covering the indie scene. Another plus is the fact that there are more pages devoted to covering artists, featuring new talent, and reviewing new records than there are pages devoted to industry advertisements, a rather uncommon occurrence for glossy rock music publications. A subscription is \$12.95/6 issues. [TW]

### MISSISSIPPI MUD

#39/undated (7119 Santa Fe Avenue, Dallas, TX 75223) is a beautifully illustrated, elegant journal featuring poetry, artwork and writings, some written in English, some in Spanish. Send \$6 for a sample. [TW]

### MONOZINE

#### easy to swallow

#4/undated & #5/Winter/Spring '98 (POB 598, Reisterstown, MD 21136) is a gruesomely entertaining, 40-page zine filled with outrageous, descriptive and very detailed personal accounts of various illnesses in all their horrific glory. Issue #4 of the zine starts off with a

series of graphic, chunky "puke stories," notably "Puke Story #3 - The King of All Puke Stories" which gleefully recounts the simultaneous, multiple explosions of chunks, fecal matter, and squirting liquids out of every orifice--vivid descriptions guaranteed to leave quite an impact to the reader. The zine features plenty more including "Fire Penis" which tells the story of a very painful allergic reaction to a spermicide used in a condom, and the wrenching story of a diarrhetic dump so utterly gruesome the author felt compelled to document the occurrence with a snap of her Polaroid camera. More graphic details of various illnesses continue with issue #5. Send \$3 for a sample copy. [TW]

### NEW STANDARD

#### A Libertarian Journal

#13/Summer & #14/Winter '97 (POB 25572, Santa Anna, CA 92799-5572) is a 14 to 16-page libertarian newsletter defending "the classical liberal [standard] that came out of the Enlightenment." The Summer '97 issue features a chapter reprinted from Alex Carey's important 1987 book, *Taking the Risk out of Democracy*, titled "The Origins of American Propaganda." The Winter issue includes a reprint of "Computers: Myths of Origin" (from *Left Business Observer*) emphasizing their military derivation, along with editor Ron Leighton's "A Defense of Noam Chomsky and his Anarchism" (for an updated version of this see the letters column in this issue), and another chapter from Alex Carey's *Taking the Risk out of Democracy*, titled "The Orwell Diversion." Issues of this newsletter are free, but postage for mailing is required (I'd send at least 78¢ in stamps), and "donations are appreciated." [JM]

### THE NIHILIST'S NOTEBOOK

1996 (John Marmysz, 3739 Balboa St. #142, San Francisco, CA 94121) seems to be a 104-page one-shot publication in journal-format covering different aspects of nihilist experiences through fiction, essays and reviews. John Marmysz writes about "The Samurai and the Übermensch: Tragic Heroes" (from Mishima & Nietzsche), nihilism in *Night of the Living Dead*, and includes rather meaningless fiction like "The Necrophagist." If your tastes run to literary nihilism, check this out. No price listed; I'd send about \$5 for a copy. [JM]

### NOTES FROM THE BORDERLAND

#2/Autumn-Winter '98-9 (Larry O'Hara, BM Box 4769, London, WC1N 3XX, England) is Larry O'Hara's new 36-page magazine of "parapolitics,...an examination of the hidden in politics, especially the machinations of the secret state." This second issue includes O'Hara's long analysis of "MI5 & Domestic Subversion: Shayler and After," and David Pegg on "Karl Marx and Spies in the Workers Movement," and more. Subscriptions are £5/2 issues. [JM]

### PELASGUS

Issues #1 thru #3 (Jason Sandberg, 1825 Trailway Drive #3, Eagan, MN 55122) is a comic zine which serializes the story of a humanoid named Pelasgus and the primitive society that grows up around him. Jason is the talented artist of this zine and knows how to tell a good story too. Pelasgus' society is spawned when some alien kid leaves a device

behind on a planet, which causes life to evolve, which leads to Pelasgus and his tribe. The story line deals heavily with political philosophy, which defies what a reader might expect from a comic zine. This is a comic worth checking out. \$2/issue + \$1 postage. [CM]

### PMA NEWSLETTER

May '98/Vol.16,#5 (627 Aviation Way, Manhattan Beach, CA 90266) is the 40-page monthly newsletter of the Publishers Marketing Association, a membership organization dedicated to helping independent book publishers survive and prosper. This is something that any alternative book publisher should check out at least once. Subscriptions are included with sliding scale membership fees from \$80 and up. [JM]

### THE PROBE

Vol.3,#3/1997 (Argus Research Foundation) POB 99, Kempton, IL 60946) is an irregular, 64-page magazine of "Coverups, Enigmas & Suppressed Science Explored and Explained." Like other conspiracy-theory publications *The Probe* sometimes offers interesting—or even compelling—information conflicting with mainstream media accounts of controversial events, but just as often delves into the realm of the bizarre without even blinking—in which vague reports and paranoid accusations are unspectically treated as if they are true. The best articles in this issue are by editor/publisher Alexander Horvat on the political manipulation of news coverage by the "60 Minutes" TV program and on "The OK City Bombing Trial." The worst uncritically promote Chelation Therapy for heart disease, "explain" how the Egyptian pyramids were built, and offer extraterrestrial explanations for cattle mutilations. There's even a reprinted "internal memo from Janet Reno" that's so obviously a right-wing hoax that it alone undermines everything else of any value presented in these pages, despite the magazine's lukewarm skepticism regarding its authenticity. Subscriptions are \$25/4 issues in the US; \$35/4 issues elsewhere. [JM]

### THE PROGRESSIVE REVIEW

#### Washington's Most Unofficial Source

#351/Oct. & #352/Dec.'97 (1739 Connecticut Ave NW, Washington, DC 20009-8922) is a 10-page monthly newsletter covering the geographical seat of U.S. government power from a "progressive," pro-capitalist perspective. The October issue features a critical, but ultimately superficial, analysis of "Washington's Culture of Impunity" by publisher Sam Smith. The December issue celebrates the recuperation of Greens into the electoral system (blaming the left Greens for retarding the process by not immediately renouncing their anti-electoral radicalism), as part of a general anti-left/liberal and pro-populist/reform rant. Sample copies are \$3; subscriptions are \$18/year. [JM]

### REBEL ROUTE

#### Rock-n-Roll, Past and Present!

Premiere/Autumn 1997 thru Summer 1998 (POB 1740, Dearborn, MI 48120-1740) is a brand new 80-page magazine dedicated to the study and exploration of the history of rock-n-roll from a more serious, academic perspective. With nary a hint of gossip, glossy photographs, fashion layouts and self-indulgent interviews



## REVIEWS

### Alternative Press Magazines

typical of most magazines about popular music, **Rebel Route** engages in music scholarship, examining the diverse history of rock-n-roll and illuminating the genealogy of the music. This first issue features Robyn Hitchcock, Grandmaster Flash & the Furious Five, an article on how the indie labels ape the majors, and "9 Albums that Made Alternative!" The Spring issue features an in-depth look at the career of The Mekons and Badfinger, a comprehensive Brian Wilson/Beach Boys discography, and an article reminiscing about the Motown days of the 60s and the influence of Berry Gordy on the popular culture of the time. The Summer issue features an interview with Fugazi's Ian MacKaye and a very lengthy article chronicling the influential and groundbreaking career of Lou Reed. Subscriptions are \$18/4-issues. [TW]

#### RED & BLACK REVOLUTION

**A Magazine of Libertarian Communism**  
#3/undated (POB 1528, Dublin 8, Ireland; [www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/2419](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/2419)) is a new 36-page magazine published by the Workers Solidarity Movement covering both Irish and international actions and organizations. This issue covers the successful campaign against water charges in Ireland, an overview of the Italian anarchist movement, and "The Emergence of Modern Irish Socialism, 1885-7." One copy \$4.50; subscriptions are \$10/4 issues. [JM]

#### REVIEWS

Oct.'97 (Jean Heriot, POB 7844, Olympia, WA 98507) is a small but interesting, 6-page collection of book, magazine & zine reviews from the former publisher of the interesting zine *Kaspahraster*, primarily covering radical titles (including Bob Black's crucial *Anarchy after Leftism* & Len Bracken's important *Guy Debord—Revolutionary* in this issue). Apparently this zine is also available on the internet at: [www.teleport.com/~jaheriot/review20.html](http://www.teleport.com/~jaheriot/review20.html). No price listed; send an SASE or a contribution for a sample. [JM]

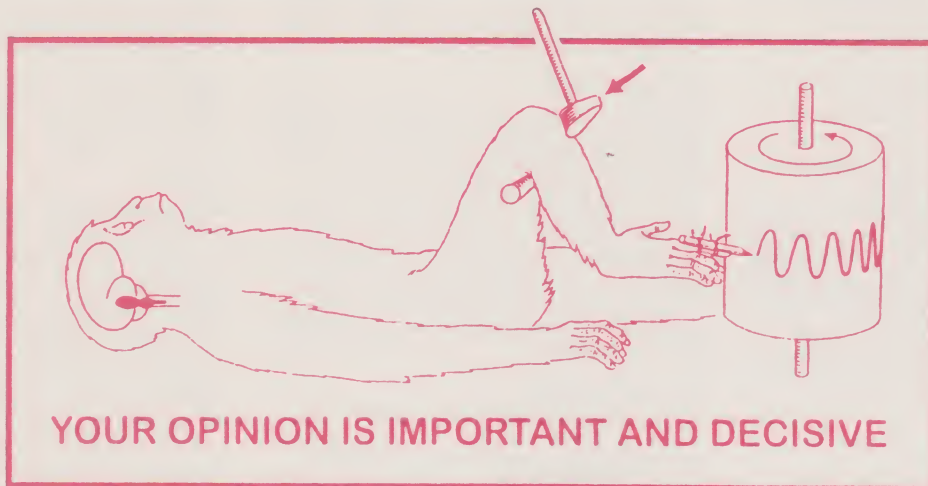
#### ROOMMATE STORIES

#2/undated (1549 Sanborn, San Jose, CA 95110) is a 32-page newsprint zine featuring a number of vulgar and lurid 'roommate from hell' stories, many of which seem about as plausible as the sex stories featured in Penthouse's "Forum" section. The juvenile antics and tawdry hijinks are also manifested in the advice column "How To Choose And Keep A Roommate" and "10 Ways to Make Your Roommate Wig..." This should have an appeal for those fascinated by far-fetched, obscenity-laced, roommate stories. Send \$2. for a sample copy. [TW]

#### RUDE INTERNATIONAL

Vol.1,#1/Spring 1998 (POB 1302, Cambridge, MA 02139; web: <http://www.rudeinternational.com>) is a new 66-page quarterly glossy which covers the ska and reggae scene. This issue

This issue includes discussions on (and a chronology of) the life and thought of the Marquis de Sade, a history of Japanese bondage, and an interview with a dominatrix. Sample copies aren't cheap at \$20, nor are subscriptions at \$70/4 issues. [JM]



includes coverage of the southern California ska scene, with a special look at the Latino scene. Also of note is "Ska Against Racism tour Hits the Road." The featured interview is with West Coast ska band Hepcat. Includes an excellent music review section with album picture covers for each review. As with any music zine, this one has plenty of good pictures of bands, fans, and concerts. \$5/issue; \$10/4 issues [CM]

#### RUFORD LIVES ON PLUTO

#20/undated (11841 Beacon Hill Dr., Plymouth, MI 48170) is a 50-page, sparsely illustrated, digest-sized personal zine featuring a rambling assortment of poetry, personal observations and opinions on a variety of subjects ranging from obsessions with cartoon superheroes to recounting bad experiences in the company of drugged out friends. No price was given so I suggest you send a buck for a sample copy. [TW]

#### SCAVENGERS NEWSLETTER

#174/Aug 1998 (519 Ellinwood, Osage City, KS 66523-1329) is a 22-page monthly newsletter for science fiction/fantasy/horror/mystery writers and artists with an interest in the small press. This issue is filled with a comprehensive listing of small press publications looking for freelance material and a short article on the benefits of attending SF/fantasy-oriented conventions. A first-class subscription (12 issues) is \$21. [TW]

#### SECRET MAGAZINE

#12/April '97 (POB 1400, 1000 Brussels 1, Belgium) is a 100-page, entirely glossy, black & white fetish magazine featuring high quality photography and texts! As the editorial states: "The power of the fetish is incalculable, so much so that merely thinking of it or conjuring it up by fancy suffices to excite and gratify the bondage devotee who finds his or her erotic 'kick' in leather, animal substances like hides or hair, inanimate objects such as cords, whips, ropes, handcuffs, gags, chains and the like."

#### SHENANDOAH

**NEWSLETTER**  
Vol.25,#8/Nov.'98  
(736 West Oklahoma St., Appleton, WI 54914) is a 22-page, photocopied, monthly Haudenosaune Native American newsletter. This issue features the story of "The Lost Brother" retold by Wallace Mad Bear, an analysis of "National/Sovereign Lands" ("Great Turtle Island"), along with news, notes, and commentary. Single copies are \$1.75; subscriptions are \$17.50/year. [JM]

#### THE SILENCE SYNDROME

#1/undated (Silence Inc. c/o Eric Battaglia, 2344 S. 11th Ave, North Riverside, IL 60546) is a 40-page art/comix/literary zine which is an "attempt to balance the two worlds of 'art' and politics," according to the editor. There's plenty of personal musings complete with hand drawn illustrations and an informative essay on the Zapatista's and the western media's treatment of the conflict in Chiapas. Send a buck for a sample copy. [TW]

#### SILENT NATION

#4/undated (POB 264, Ogden, UT 84402) is a small 28-page punk zine featuring the standard music reviews and band interviews (Avail, Get Up Kids, Braid). Humorous items include a collection of Jack Handey's "Deep Thoughts" and a column of "Useless But Interesting Facts." Did you know that cat urine glows under a black light? Send a buck if you wish to sample more interesting facts. [TW]

#### SLUGFEST, LTD

Vol.8,#3-4/Winter 1997-98 & Vol.9,#1-2/Summer-Fall 1998 (SFest, Ltd., POB 1238, Simpsonville, SC 29681) are 72-page double issues of this literary zine. *SlugFest* features a good mix of short fiction (usually a few pages each) and poetry. The Winter issue also includes some humor, interviews, and essays. Aspires to have an international authorship, but most of the authors are American. Needs some help in the art department; *SlugFest* prints too many unaltered clip art graphics. \$5.50/issue; \$20/4 issues [CM]

#### SOUTH CHICAGO ARA ALERT

#1/July 10, 1998 (South Chicago ARA, POB 721, Homewood, IL 60430) is a 60-page zine published by Anti-Racist Action activists in Chicago. Includes information about local and regional meetings, as well as info about what ARA does. Includes reprints of newspaper



# REVIEWS

## Alternative Press Magazines

articles on racist violence and an article on "Racism and Housing in Chicago's South Suburbs." The issue ends with material on animal rights and local struggles to stop sprawl. [CM]

### SOUTH TO THE FUTURE

#1/April '97 (POB 191475, San Francisco, CA 94119-1475) is a 28-page, digest-sized zine which offers up sarcastic, Baffleresque-style critiques (albeit shorter and more concise articles) of the "Information Revolution," rampant consumerism, technology, the continued expansion of our suburban jungles, as well as some wry commentary on class and race relations. The debut issue weighs in on the Eubonics debate, the current trend of U.S. prisons being transformed into exclusive, "gated" communities for African-Americans, a pro-bicycle piece, and a hilarious news account announcing that **South to the Future** has trademarked "History" for usage relating to the World Wide Web and other digital media. A promising first issue. Subscriptions are on a sliding scale from \$6-\$36 for 6 issues. [TW]

### STRUGGLE

#### A Magazine of Proletarian Revolutionary Literature

Vol.13, #1-2/Spring-Summer & #2-3/Fall-Winter '97 (POB 13261, Detroit, MI 48213-0261) is a 78pp. compilation of "proletarian" poetry and fiction "seek[ing] to reach 'disgruntled' workers, dissatisfied youth and all the oppressed and abused," published by a member of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Voice Organization. Subscriptions are \$2.50/issue; make checks to "Tim Hall—Special Account." [JM]

### TAIL SPINS

#27 & #29-30/undated (POB 1860, Evanston, IL 60204) is a thick 100-page punk zine which features your standard (mostly) punk band interviews, (mostly) punk music reviews and zine reviews. What sets it apart somewhat from **MRR** and **Punk Planet** are the occasional forays into pop culture such as a viewing guide to 1970s Blaxploitation films and movie soundtracks (#29), the affinity for unexplained phenomena such as Bigfoot (#27) which also includes a chronological listing of Sasquatch sightings in Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky and Indiana, and a look at the gun culture (#27). Issue #30 delves into "Cannibalism: Why We Eat Others" which is accompanied by several shorter articles that trace the history of cannibalism, from pre-historic times to the Aztecs, to very recent times such as the Uruguayan plane crash survivors to Jeffrey Dahmer. Also featured in #30 is an article on hermaphrodites. A one year subscription is \$15/6 issues. [TW]

### THINK!

#7/Summer-Lughnassadh '97 (POB 286, Prides Crossing, MA 01965-0286) is a simple but competently-produced, 30-page zine of Pagan thought, including contributions like Wishdiak's "How to Survive a Pagan Festival," and Ikari Segawa's "Paganism in Japan" (reprinted from *Northern Oak*). Single copies are \$3.75 each. [JM]

### THINK 3

Issue #3.1/August thru #3.4/November 1997 (POB 427, Troy, NY 12181) is a 30-40 zine

which chronicles the underground culture of Troy, NY. There are several regular columns, one covering a music-oriented matter in "Warped Record," historical issues are covered in "South Troy Against the World" and there is a review section covering zines, music and the occasional movie. Local writers making appearances also include Bob Black in issue 3.4. Send two bucks for a sample. [TW]

### THE THOUGHT

#106/May-June thru #109/Nov.-Dec.'98 (Philosophers Guild, POB 10760, Glendale, AZ 85318-0760; e-mail: Hawk5@compuserve.com) is back again—after a long absence—as a 24-page newsletter covering an eclectic range of topics. The May issue features Marc Rex on "The Culture of Media" and the BAD Brigade's "An Anarchist Case Against Gun Control." The Nov. issue includes Avi Naftel's story "The Library." Single copies are \$2; subscriptions are \$11/6 issues. [JM]

### THOUGHT BOMBS

#1 thru #7/undated (27009 S. Egyptian Trail, Monee, IL 60449; e-mail: anthonyrayson@hotmail.com) is a lively new unpaginated zine of essays, rants and reprints published by Anthony Rayson. Issue #7 includes coverage of the South Chicago branch of Anti-Racist Action, Lac du Flambeau treaty rights, and an interview with Sean Lambert. Sample copies are \$2. [JM]

### TRAIL OF TEARS JUNIOR HIGH

no date/undated (Greg Fiering, 111 East 14th St. #377, New York, NY 10003; 1-800-964-1561) is an very interesting, large but unpaginated, illustrated zine covering a wide selection of the clichés, lies, trivialities and rites of passage probably found in any North American junior high school. This is well worth checking out for the eerie success he has capturing the ambience of institutionalized adolescence. Greg also has a smaller untitled, similarly illustrated zine dealing with game-playing (Atari and Dungeons & Dragons). No price listed; send a few dollars for a copy. [JM]

### TUBA FRENZY

#4 (POB 576, Chapel Hill, NC 27514; e-mail: tubafrenzy@mindspring.com; web: <http://www.mindspring.com/tubafrenzy/>) is a handsome 96-page eclectic music magazine that features some of the most intelligent music writing being done today. The feature story is on the history of New York-based 99 Records, which recorded Glenn Branca, the Bush Tetras, and ESG. Interviews include Ian Williams (ex-Don Caballero), Sam Rivers, post-rockers Tono-Bungay, and hip-hoppers New Kingdom. The "Cassette Frenzy" column reviews releases on cassette. Also has an extensive record review section. \$3/issue. [CM]

### UNDERGROUND SOUNDZ

#8/undated (12034 Ridge Hwy, Tecumseh, MI 49286) is a slick, glossy, 62-page hip hop/urban music publication reporting on the national rap, hip-hop and reggae scene. This issue features the Fugees, Jungle Brothers, DJ Evil Dee, Rampage, Artifacts along with the latest news and music reviews. Send \$3 for a sample copy. [TW]

### THE VOLUNTARYIST

#88/Oct.'97 & #91/April '98 (POB 1275, Gramling, SC 29348) is a nicely-printed 8-page bimonthly newsletter promoting voluntary social relations and private property (and "not voluntary communal property"). The October issue features publisher Carl Watner on "By Their Bootstraps: Voluntaryism and the Cooperative Movement." The April issue features a reprinting of George Smith's introduction to Franz Oppenheimer's *The Origin of the State*. Subscriptions are \$18/year (or .045oz or 1.4gm of fine gold!). [JM]

### WHAP!

#### Women Who Administer Punishment

#12 (Retro Systems, POB 69491, Los Angeles, CA 90069) is a 48-page magazine that has the retro look of those practical-looking 1950s women's magazines but with a decidedly kinky twist. **Whap!** provides women with plenty of advice and tips they need to keep the incorrigible men of today in line. Disciplinary methods such as spanking and switching are encouraged, the benefits of obedience training extolled and you can read articles like "Sweet Chastity" that explains how "putting a lock on his privates just might be the key to opening your man's heart." There's also a comprehensive catalog section featuring a variety of home disciplinary audio tapes, disciplinary hardware, books and videos. A 4-issue subscription is a whopping \$29 + \$4.95 s&h. Ouch! [TW]

### WILLFUL DISOBEDIENCE

#5/Nov.'97 & #6/June '98 (Venomous Butterfly Publications, Wolfi Landstreicher, c/o Feral Soup, POB 86662, Los Angeles, CA 90006) is an unpaginated zine of unapologetic rebellion aiming at amoral, anarchic insurrection. In other words, it's a delightful read in an age in which even most zinesters are afraid of their own unbridled desires, preferring to settle for cynical—and ultimately vacuous—poses of hip pseudo-rebellion. **Venomous Butterfly Publications**, on the contrary, always carry a small, but nasty bite. The November issue features a critique of the evisceration of meaning from the term "Direct Action" by those who insist on using it to describe activities that are more and more indirect, purely symbolic and ideologically nonviolent. Also included is a quick critique in passing of the ideological function of modern medicine, short accounts of genuine direct actions from around the world, information on repression of anarchist activists in Europe, and "When is a Duck Not a Duck? or Bob Black After Snitching." The June issue includes criticisms of "self-sacrificial Earth First!" actions and an "Update on GAndALF." This zine is sometimes hard to find, but always recommended. Send a 55¢ SASE or a contribution for a sample copy today! [JM]

### WILLZINE

#2 (321 N. Pottstown Pk., Exton, PA 19341) is a 31-page personal zine that is published twice a year. In "Video Behavior" the editor rants about dumb video store employees, a common theme lately in these perzines, and fails to see that they just work at these shitty places. A more interesting piece examines perceived ideological bias among zine authors. \$1 ppd. [CM]



## REVIEWS

### Music Reviews

## Alternative CDs & Tapes

From this issue of *Alternative Press Review* we'll be devoting space for music reviews. Send your alternative or out-of-the-ordinary CDs and tapes for review to: A.A.L., POB 4710, Arlington, VA 22204. Music reviews this time around are by

Tom Wheeler [TW] and Chuck Munson [CW].

#### 555 - Squirrel Covers (CD)

(2013 New Hampshire Ave NW, #815, Washington, DC 20009)

This DC band may be perceived as a serious band with a humorous streak, or maybe its the other way around. One thing is for sure. They do have a knack for putting together some well-crafted, occasionally off-beat pop-rock tunes. The pleasant, almost upbeat arrangements help counter the dark themes evoked in some of the lyrics. In other places, it enhances the dark humor. Either way, the band is able to tread conventional rock song-writing and dabble in quirky, off the beaten path arrangements without missing a beat. [TW]

#### THE AGENTS - For All the Massive (CD)

(Radical Records, 77 Bleecker St #C2-21, New York, NY 10012; web: [www.radicalrecords.com](http://www.radicalrecords.com))

The original Agents were a R&B-influenced surf rock outfit from the 1960s. Guitarist Jason DaLomba, the son of one of the members decided to continue the family tradition in the 1990s by forming his own band with the same name. The 60s version operated just beneath the pop music radar screen. Surf rock was wildly popular among its adherents but only enjoyed limited forays into the mainstream pop world. The new Agents work similar territory as a ska outfit, a style of music over the past 20 years which has also been wildly popular among its adherents but has thrived mostly outside conventional pop music circles. This new incarnation of The Agents gives us a cool dozen upbeat, catchy ska tunes that flash some bits of reggae and even swing into the mix. [TW]

#### FUGAZI - End Hits (CD)

(Dischord, 3819 Beecher Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20007)

The enjoyable latest from that most famous of Washington, DC's non-famous hardcore bands. The members of Fugazi may be entering middle age and touring less, but *End Hits* shows that they can still craft some tight hardcore anthems and sound pieces. Those of us in DC should consider ourselves fortunate to be able to see Fugazi's annual, free benefit concert. Fugazi is one of those rare bands that sound good in concert and on a CD. The hallmark Fugazi sound infuses this album, with an emphasis on guitars and the signature voices of Ian MacKaye and Guy Picciotto. "Five Corporations" is a up tempo, anti-corporate rant-anthem. Fugazi CDs always leave me wishing for more. \$10 ppd. from Dischord. [CM]

#### THE GUN & DOLL SHOW - Working on the Bomb (CD)

(Fortune Records, PO Box 11302, Berkeley, CA

94712 / [www.gunanddollshow.com](http://www.gunanddollshow.com))

This San Francisco band brings back memories of Timbuk 3; quirky, irreverent tunes and a good dose of caustic social commentary. The record is quite entertaining and a delightful treat—a welcome departure from the banal, shallow tripe that permeates today's radio dial. Not that G&DS is worried about competing with other music artists. As guitarist/vocalist Killian MacGeraghty once told a local bay area paper, "You know who I'm trying to compete against? Not sleepy rock'n'roll bands, but sports on television, movies, cable and other entertainment forms." If only we had more bands this interesting and imaginative. [TW]

#### PROBE! - User Friendly (CD)

(Trajectory Records, 1049 Rector Rd, Bridgewater, NJ 08807 / [www.trajectory.net](http://www.trajectory.net))

Do we really need a 1980s revival band? Probe! thinks so and their original songs on "User Friendly" bring back memories of such artists as Soft Cell, Human League, Thomas Dolby and the Buggles, right down to the excessive use of cheesy synthesizer/keyboards and the oh-so-80s pose against a white background on the inner sleeve photo. They even have a song entitled "Love in the 80s." Its obvious the band doesn't take themselves too seriously. The lyrics are every bit as cheesy as the song arrangements ("you clear your database file/erase me from your memory"), and the song "Everything I Do" almost comically apes the Police's "Every Breath You Take." The tongue-in-cheek lyrics had me rolling in fits of uncontrollable laughter and some of the intentionally wacky synthesizer arrangements proved to be an endless source of amusement. Probe! both pays homage to the new wave music scene of the 80s and mines the material for its obvious humor. After all, who could possible take that particular genre seriously? A remarkably entertaining record. [TW]

#### RANCID - Life Can Wait (CD)

(Epitaph)

Although the new record from Rancid is ever so slight a departure from their roaring fist-pumping punk anthems of their previous records, this one still won't dispel the inevitable comparisons to The Clash, nor do old fans need worry the new record will be lacking in some fast and furious tunage. There's plenty of raging songs like "Bloodclot" "Warsaw" and "1998," but this time out there's even more reggae-tinged tunes percolating in the mix. As is typical, Rancid manage to cram 22 songs on the disk. If this is Rancid's *London Calling*, I sincerely hope they don't get too carried away with their next record and try to pull a *Sandinista* on us. [TW]

#### SOCIAL DISTORTION - Live at the Roxy (CD)

(Time Bomb Recordings / [www.timebombrecordings.com](http://www.timebombrecordings.com))

Believe it or not, Social Distortion has been at it for nearly a couple of decades now. This new record is a blistering live set recorded at the Roxy in Hollywood and the 17 tracks serve as a career retrospective of the SD's storied history. Unlike other aging punk rockers, Mike Ness and his bandmates show they are still capable of playing great live shows and the most recent

songs show the song-writing has not lost any of its creative spark. The record includes early classics like "Mommy's Little Monster" and "1945" along with more recent tunes like "I Was Wrong." The disk also includes blazing versions of Johnny Cash's "Ring of Fire" and "Under My Thumb" from the Stones. This is a surprisingly good live recording for a punk band and an essential record. [TW]

## Magazine & Zine Reviews

continued from previous page

#### WISHBONE

#8 (31921 Camino Capistrano #200, San Juan Capistrano, CA 92675) is a remarkably engaging 32-page zine from Bunnigrrrl in which she tells us about her transfer from a community college to a University and how quickly that initial joy turned into a nightmare, supplanting the workplace as the dominant "hell" in her everyday life. In "Reality Check" the deceptive and manipulative public relations campaign working on behalf of the dairy industry is exposed, the letters section has Bunnigrrrl gleefully picking apart one letter writer apparently trying their best to praise the role of the CEO and justify the necessity of our corporate culture, and a comic strip featuring Bunnigrrrl in "The Cramps From HELL!" Send a buck plus 55 cents in stamps for a sample copy. [TW]

#### WORKING FOR THE MAN

Vol.1,#2/Dec.'97 & Vol.2,#1/undated (Stroboscope Productions, POB 460125, San Francisco, CA 94146; e-mail: [scope@jps.net](mailto:scope@jps.net); web: [www.jps.net/scope](http://www.jps.net/scope)) is a nicely-done, unpaginated little zine which "explores the horror of the workplace," somewhat in the style of *Temp Slave!* Sample copies are \$2 U.S. or \$3 international. [JM]

#### WORLD EXPLORER

Vol.1,#9/undated (World Explorers Club, 403 Kemp Street, Kempton, IL 60946) is a competently-produced, 96-page pulp magazine of amateur & crank archeology, UFOology, ancient & imagined civilizations, cryptozoology and the typical run of "secrets of the universe" one finds in publications like these. However, this magazine (with its dedication "to the memories of: Jean Hunt, Charles Fort, J.O. Kinnaman, Ivan T. Sanderson, Sir Richard Burton, Col. Percy Fawcett [&] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle") seems to be a few notches better than others in its genre—more readable, more competent, and slightly less credulous. This issue includes David Childress on "The Yeti," editor Alexander Horvat's "Is the End Near?" (on supposedly oncoming catastrophic global changes scheduled for the millennium), and DeAnna Emerson's bizarre imagination at work in "The Mars Earth Enigma" (on pre-Sumerian symbols, crop circles and extra-terrestrial civilizations). Occasionally fascinating, sometimes ridiculous, often entertaining, this is a perfect magazine for fringe-watchers with an as yet unfulfilled yearning for fantasies-come-true. Subscriptions are \$25/year. [JM]



# Partners in Censorship

continued from page 27

one month prior to Monsanto's threat | ening letter aimed at killing the Akre-Wilson story. It was a verdict that Monsanto's attorney made sure to mention in his letter to Roger Ailes. "What has Monsanto concerned...is the assault on their integrity...blatantly carried on by Ms. Akre and Mr. Wilson," Walsh wrote. "In the aftermath of the Food Lion verdict, such behavior would alone be cause for concern."

"A lot of people now are more fearful of doing investigative journalism since Food Lion...which is why we have so many lawyers involved," admits Phil Metlin, who took over as WTVT's news director in July 1997. "We have to be careful...and prudent."

The result, of course, has been that attorneys rather than reporters are empowered to make journalistic decisions.

For its part, WTVT insists that this system of institutional self-censorship must be defended in order to avoid "chilling the give-and-take essential in any newsroom in getting the news on the air in a timely and responsible manner." In legal court filings, the station insists that its "editorial discretion and judgment should not and cannot be the subject of second-guessing by a judge or jury, consistent with the First Amendment."

WTVT also objects to the fact that Akre and Wilson "conducted two press conferences the day they filed their

suit" and "have also created a web site to publicize their issues, where they have posted the complaint and exhibits and where they are soliciting public comments." Worse yet, the website includes two complete scripts of their controversial rBGH report—one version showing how they wanted to write the story, and the other showing how the network wanted it edited. Neither version has ever aired. In fact, its filings in court claim that by posting the scripts on their website, Akre and Wilson "have misappropriated...property.... This misconduct by Plaintiffs is in itself a material and serious breach of the employment agreements [and] amounts to theft."

Theft it may be, in some strange legal sense, but Akre and Wilson don't care at this point. "I am risking my career by doing this, and I will probably never work in television again," Wilson said, "But we wanted to get this story out."

"As a mother, I know this is important information about a basic food I've been giving my child every day," Akre said. "As a journalist, I know it is a story that millions of Floridians have a right to know. The television station we worked for promised the story would be told. Instead, we spent nearly a year struggling to tell it honestly and accurately, and four months after we were fired for standing up for the truth, the station has done nothing but continue to keep this important news secret. It is not right for the station to withhold this important health information, and solely as a matter of conscience we will not aid and abet their effort to cover this up any longer. Every parent and every consumer has the right to know what

they're pouring on their children's morning cereal."

In May 1998, a month after Wilson and Akre filed suit, the station aired an rBGH story by the investigative reporter who was hired to replace them. His story, predictably, omitted many of their criticisms of Monsanto.

*A version of this article appeared in the June 1998 issue of The Progressive magazine. Further information about the Akre-Wilson lawsuit is available on their website at: <http://www.foxBGHsuit.com>*

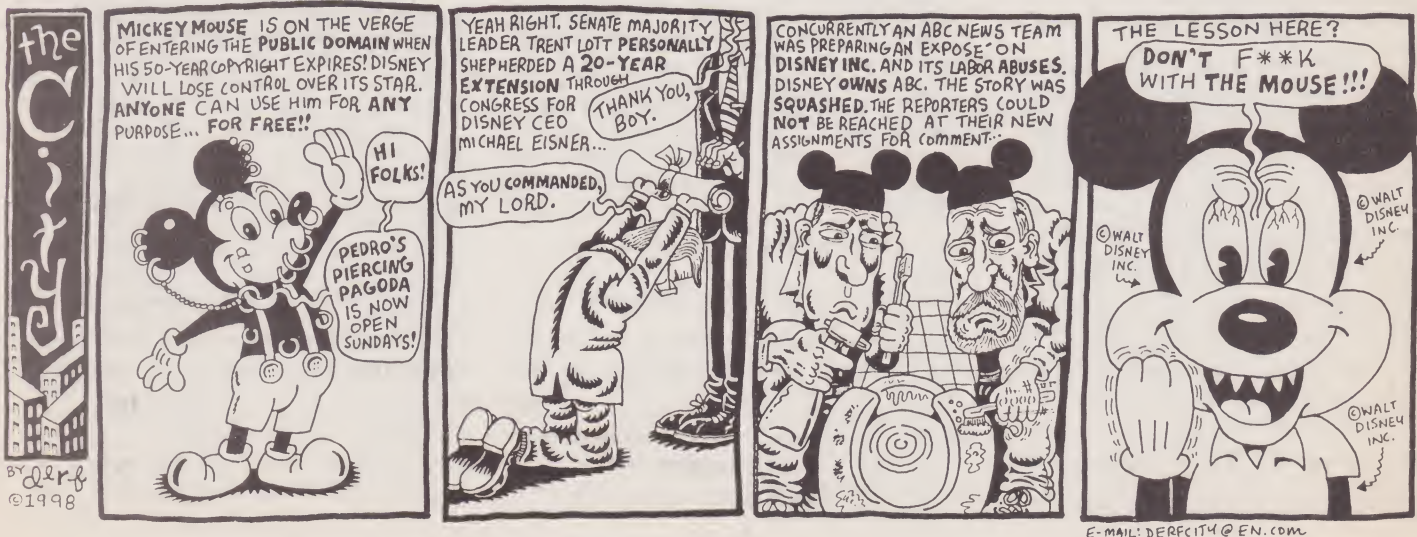
## Letters

continued from page 5

tell you that I have a lot more respect for his work than yours. You do not have a long experience working politically in the U.S., certainly haven't experienced any serious dedicated harassment from such agencies as the CIA, FBI etc, so why is it that you would figure that you know enough to appraise the actual situation at CAQ accurately? Why because you're fatheaded snobs who want credibility and the way you think you're going to build it is by putting someone else down, especially who is to the left of your perspective and who is more aware and sure of what is going on at high levels of government than you. Sad but all too common in the US. Should you actually want to learn more about suppressed history, read CAQ back issues, Prevailing Winds catalog and magazine out of California, and try my web site at: <http://www.speakeasy.org/dopewar>

Finally don't forget even if you think that you aren't a target, you still are because they still think you're a subversive even if you think you aren't.

Sincerely yours,  
Lyle Courtsal  
[dopewar@speakeasy.org](mailto:dopewar@speakeasy.org)





# The Wrong Stuff: Nukes in Space

continued from page 50

16. Ibid., p.35. Quote from David Lilienthal, *Change, Hope, and the Bomb*, pp.111-112.
17. Hilgartner, Bell and O'Connor, *Nukespeak, The Selling of Nuclear Technology in America*, op cit., p.xiv.
18. Daniel Ford, *The Cult of the Atom: The Secret Papers of the Atomic Energy Commission* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982), p.35.
19. Ibid.
20. Karl Grossman, *Cover Up: What You Are Not Supposed to Know about Nuclear Power* (Sag Harbor, N.Y.: Permanent Press, updated edition, 1982), pp.xviii-xix.
21. William L. Laurence, *The New York Times*, September 26, 1945.
22. Browne and Munroe, *Time Bomb, Understanding the Threat of Nuclear Power*, op cit., pp.37-38.
23. William L. Laurence, "Paradise or Doomsday?" *Woman's Home Companion*, May 1948, p.33.
24. Roger Starr, interview by author, March 1989.
25. Thomas Pigford, "Three Mile Island: The Good News," *The New York Times*, March 29, 1989, p.16-A.
26. Frances Cerra's troubles over the nuclear issue at *The New York Times* is chronicled in Grossman, *Power Crazy, Is LILCO Turning Shoreham into America's Chernobyl?* (New York: Grove Press), pp.305-306. They are also discussed in the 1996 video *Fear and Favor in the Newsroom*.
27. Alan Whitman, interview by the author, October 1979. Included in Grossman, *Cover Up: What You Are Not Supposed to Know about Nuclear Power*, (Sag Harbor, N.Y.: Permanent Press, 1980), p.190.
28. Anna Mayo, interview by the author, October 1979 and March 1989.
29. Tom McGrath, "Talking With: Michael Jordan," *USAir Magazine*, May 1996, p.14.
30. Westinghouse Electric Corporation, *1994 Annual Report*.
31. Fox Butterfield, "Philippines Expected to File Suit Against Westinghouse," *The New York Times*, December 1, 1988, pp.D-1 & D-8.
32. Sam Hussein, "Felons on the Air: Does GE's Ownership of NBC Violate the Law?" *Extra!*, November/December 1994.
33. Karl Grossman, "20/20 Out of Focus on Nuclear Issues," *Extra!*, January/February 1994, p.14.
34. "Plutonium-238: A Risky Number," *St. Petersburg Times*, May 29, 1989.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. "Let's Ban Nuclear Satellites," *Los Angeles Times*, July 25, 1988.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. *The Truth About Lies, The Public Mind with Bill Moyers*, A co-Production of Public Affairs Television, Inc., New York. Presented by

WNET/New York and WETA/Washington, D.C. Aired Nov. 29, 11989. Quotes from transcript of program.

41. Giles Whittell, "Aborted Apollo 13 Mission 'Risky Nuclear Disaster,'" *The Times*, September 9, 1995.

42. *Final Environmental Impact Statement*, op cit., pp.4-40. The NASA document acknowledges that "during the VVEJGA trajectory"—the "flyby" route taking the Cassini twice around Venus, once past the Earth and then on to Jupiter and Saturn—"the spacecraft would fly past the Earth at an altitude of 500 km (1,600,000 ft) and at a velocity of 19.1 km/s (62,700 ft/s)." That speed translates to 42,300 miles per hour. For a discussion of the vital importance for reporters, when doing environmental stories to ask hard questions, to get to the fundamentals of the story because of an "unusual responsibility as messengers who raise issues which directly affect the health and survival of humankind and the biosphere," see the chapter "Media and Journalism" authored by Professor Ann Filemyr and Karl Grossman in *Greening the College Curriculum: A Guide to Environmental Teaching in the Liberal Arts*. It is edited by Jonathan Collett and Stephen Karakashian (Washington, D.C. and Covelo, CA: Island Press, 1996). We call our approach to environmental journalism "Deep Journalism." We stated: "It is not acceptable simply to poke a microphone in front of the face of the spokesperson for Exxon and be told that the mess in Prince Edward Sound is not *that bad*, and then write an article which simply juxtaposes the ecological destruction with the corporation's denial. These journalists should be prepared to dig, to seek to determine what really happened, how things really work. That is the necessary direction, the start toward Deep Journalism. And some may be fortunate and work at media locations where they will be fully free to practice Deep Journalism in environmental reporting."

43. John Noble Wilford, "Jupiter Rendezvous

Is Marvel of Perfection," *The New York Times*, December 9, 1995, p.12.

44. Mark Lowenthal, interview by the author, February 1997.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

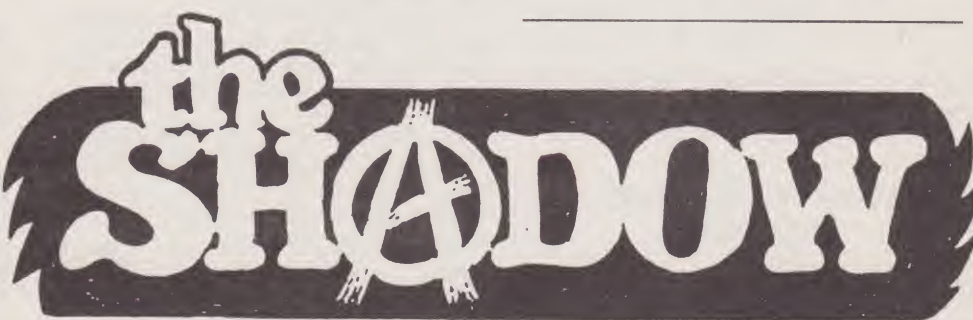
47. Ibid.

## An Interview with Al Lewis

continued from page 35

*So have you played any roles recently?*

I just did a film in Toronto a few months ago. I do mostly now memorabilia shows, autograph shows, and if the guy comes through with the money, I'll do a film out in California. I learned this from my mother: you have to know what you're worth. I don't work cheap. Everybody has a worth. I don't ask for what a piece of shit like Tom Cruise gets. A piece of shit who can't act his way in or out of a paper bag. Somebody wants to pay him that, it's no skin off my fuckin' ass. But what I'm saying is, know what you're worth. Know what you contribute. If you don't know that, you're in fuckin' trouble, man. And the one thing I learned from my mother is: never sell yourself short. My mother used to say, in broken English: "This is a big world. When you go out, there's millions of people ready to kick you in the ass. Don't bend down to accommodate them." That's peasant humor. Even biggies in Hollywood don't understand that. They'll bend down to take the kick, but they'll get two million for the picture. Not Al Lewis, not my mother's favorite son. No, no, no.



**INFORMATION IS STRENGTH • KNOWLEDGE IS POWER**

The SHADOW is the underground newspaper of New York's Lower East Side, reporting on government and police corruption and violence, counter-cultural news, fighting the state through direct action, squatters' rights, homelessness, the war on drugs, anarchy, and more!

Current and past issues are available by mail for \$2.00.

Send to: SHADOW Press, P.O. Box 20298, New York, NY 10009

\*Check out our web site: <<http://shadow.mediafilter.org>>



## REVIEWS

### Alternative Press Books

#### **Which Way for the Ecology Movement?**

*Which Way for the Ecology Movement?* by Murray Bookchin (AK Press, POB 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140-0682/POB 12766, Edinburgh, EH8 9YE, Scotland, 1994) 75pp. \$6.00/£4.50 paper.

In this slim book made up of four somewhat recent essays, Murray Bookchin continues to paddle not only against the current in his attempt to influence the direction of the mainstream ecology movement, but against the efforts of many others involved in the more radical avant-garde of the ecological milieu.

In this collection, the first parts of his essays on "The Population Myth" (reprinted from *Green Perspectives*) and "Sociobiology or Social Ecology" are the most interesting and rewarding reading, along with large parts of his introduction on "The Future of the Ecology Movement." Bookchin has many effective and important criticisms of the authoritarian implications of "deep ecology's" eco-mystical tendencies, as well as of the deeply reactionary ideological biases of "overpopulation" theorists and adherents to the surprisingly popular (though intellectually impoverished) "sociobiology" cult. But his analyses often break down when his polemics overpower the implications of his own arguments, and especially whenever he invokes his persistent but failed attempts at constructing an objective natural philosophy and morality. While Bookchin can often write eloquently as a critic (when not overly carried away in his denunciations), his ecological and social visions are too often muddled, and usually lack resonance with the aspirations of the best elements of the radical ecology milieu. -Jason McQuinn

#### **Manufacturing Consent**

*Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media* edited by Mark Achbar (Black Rose Books, University of Toronto Press, 340 Nagel Drive, Cheektowaga, NY 14225, 1995) 264pp. \$19.99 paper.

If you enjoyed the film (or video), you'll get even more out of the book version of *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media*. If you haven't been able to see the film, this book (which includes information on ordering the video) is even more important. It features not only the entire film transcript, but also short excerpts from

Chomsky's writings, interviews and correspondence, exchanges with his critics, along with even more historical and biographical material, filmmakers' notes, and over 300 photos. Just as the film does, the book illustrates themes from Chomsky's family life and boyhood, explores his academic career and the development of his fame in the field of linguistics, and examines the origins and flowering of his political activities, lecturing and writings. The inescapable

#### **In The Big Sell Out Mokonyane provides a... scathing perspective on the role of the Communist Party of South Africa and the African National Congress in the current preservation of white, capitalist rule in the face of continuing sparks of resistance from the masses of indigenous Africans.**

conclusion is that, though he may have his faults, where integrity, commitment and effectiveness are concerned Chomsky is far and away the most important public radical of his generation. There are few people alive who wouldn't benefit by reading a number of Chomsky's books. -J.M.

#### **The Bus Boycott & The Big Sell Out**

*The Bus Boycott in South Africa: Lessons of Azikwelwa* [2nd Edition] by Dan Mokonyane (Nakong Ya Rena, POB 3671, London, E1 2DX, UK, 1994) 119pp. £5.00 paper.

*The Big Sell Out by the Communist Party of South Africa and the African National Congress* by Dan Mokonyane (Nakong Ya Rena, POB 3671, London, E1 2DX, UK, 1994) 140pp. £5.00 paper.

The tragedy of apartheid in South Africa continues to play out its deadly logic even after its official abolition. The African National Congress and the Communist Party of South Africa for many years fought to portray themselves as the leaders of the fight against the settler state which had stolen the lands and destroyed the lives of countless indigenous Africans. But political and economic resistance was often out of the control of these organizations, and even fought with methods and goals contrary to their own.

One such resistance struggle was the overwhelmingly successful Bus Boycott of 1957 initiated by the people of Alexandra Township (outside Johannesburg) under the slogan of "Azikwelwa" or "We Shall Not

Ride." In *The Bus Boycott in South Africa* Dan Mokonyane gives his left-Marxist perspective on this struggle as one of the spokesmen for the boycotters belonging to the Movement for a Democracy of Content. His story isn't always easy to follow, but it does provide a glimpse at the spontaneity and intelligence of the mass resistance movements which all the various political gangs fought to control.

In *The Big Sell Out* Mokonyane provides a wider, even more scathing perspective on the role of the Communist Party of South Africa and the African National Congress in the continuing preservation of white, capitalist rule in the face of continuing sparks of resistance from the masses of indigenous Africans. Although this should be abundantly evident now that even the butcher of Rhodesia, former prime minister Ian Smith, sings the praises of Mandela's betrayal of the African struggle: "My God, I wish we had a

Mandela. He is Africa's first statesman." Despite uneven writing, an often overly-polemical tone, a misplaced belief in the alleged "scientific" nature of Marxism, and sometimes a lack of background which might better orient American readers, this book should open the eyes of those who naively believe the mainstream media as they portray apartheid as a thing of the past, while ignoring the continuing oppression of black Africans by the white elite. -J.M.

#### **Drunken Boat**

*Drunken Boat #2: Art, Rebellion, Anarchy* ed. by Max Blechman (Autonomedia, POB 568, Williamsburgh Station, Brooklyn, NY 11211-0568/Left Bank, 1004 Turner Way East Seattle, WA 98112, 1994) 288pp. \$12.00 paper.

*Drunken Boat* is a journal specifically devoted to anarchism and the arts. Novels, short stories, film, video, music, collage, dance, painting, poetry, theater, performance art, aesthetics and the idea of "art" itself—those are some of the subjects discussed in articles that have appeared or will be appearing in this journal. The publishers, Autonomedia and Left Bank Books, are both anarchist collectives, and the editor, Max Blechman, is active in the American and French anarchist movements (For a recent article by Blechman on anarchism in France, check out *Free Society: A Journal of Anarchist Thought and Action* Vol.2, #4). As such, *Drunken Boat* is a welcome addition to the burgeoning anarchist press



## REVIEWS

### Alternative Press Books

and—let us hope—an important venue for future debate.

The **Drunken Boat** is a work in process and there are a few short-comings. We are never told who the contributors are: are they anarchists, historians of anarchism, artists, editors? What else have they published and what projects are they currently involved in? And why is there no invitation to write and respond to past articles ie: no space for letters and exchanges? **Drunken Boat**, after all, claims to be a *working* journal dedicated to furthering "art, rebellion, anarchy." Responses cannot be neglected.

Short-comings aside, this issue contains some interesting articles. On the theoretical front, Max Blechman makes a stab at defining an "anarchist aesthetic" (arguably an impossible task; certainly an issue that merits further discussion). Richard Kostelanetz writes on "Avant-Garde Anarchism" and Hakim Bey discusses how we may overcome conditions of alienation in "Immediatism."

**Drunken Boat #2** also features worthwhile contributions to the history of art and anarchism. Paul Avrich, the foremost historian of American anarchism, investigates Joseph Conrad's sources for the "anarchist professor" character in his famous turn-of-the-century novel, *The Secret Agent* (1907). Anarchist Alex Trotter, co-editor of **Anarchy**, traces the intersections of decadence and individualism in modern European thought. Art historian Pat Frank has pieced together a history of American anarchism and the arts in San Francisco ("San Francisco 1952: Painters, Poets, Anarchism"), and we get an overview of Dada artist Man Ray's involvement (1911-1919) in New York City's anarchist movement from art historian Francis Naumann. Historian Richard Sonn presents his argument (developed more fully in his book, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin de Siècle France*) that 19th-century European anarchists transformed the arts and cultural activity generally into a site of contestation and rebellion. Arthur Mitzman (professor of Modern History at the University of Amsterdam) contributes a fascinating article on anarchism, psychoanalysis and the German Expressionist movement between 1910-1920, and art historian Rose-Carol Long writes on the turn-of-the-century Russian abstract painter Wassily Kandinsky ("Occultism, Anarchism and Abstraction: Kandinsky's Art of the Future"). Long was the first art historian to (rightly) assert that Kandinsky's ground-break experiments in abstract painting cannot be understood apart from his anarchism, so it is fitting that her article

**ATHEIST MANIFESTO:** 15 original, uncompromising, individualist songs. Includes: I don't celebrate xmas, jesus gave me head and Right to life means abortion on demand. CD \$13, Cassette 410. W. Nosek, POB 193, Rye, NH 03870-0193.

**CELEBRATE THE SELF Newsletter** devoted to the Solosexual Lifestyle. You can drive yourself wilder than you ever imagined. Lubricants, Home-made toys, Touching Techniques, Commercial toys—bargains and rip-offs, Secret Erogenous Zones, Readers' Shared Techniques, Contact List, Illustrations, Much More. Twenty pages, bimonthly, no ads, \$16.95. Sample copy \$3.00, Factor Press, Dept AP, POB 8888, Mobile, AL 36689. VISA, MC Accepted.

#### **Laws Set Boundaries, LOVE Overcomes.**

The North American Man/Boy Love Association provides support for men and boys drawn to relationships that cross the boundaries of generations. A safe, legal force for change, we offer publications featuring fiction, poetry, graphics, news and hope. 10 issues/\$35 (\$50 intl) or \$5 for sample: NAMBLA/Dept. AT, PO Box 174, New York, NY 10018

**SINGLES BULLETIN!** Wholesome. Your 25-word ad published, \$1.00. Sample issue \$1.00. SEND NOW! JAFARAG, Box 179-CAL, DeSoto, IL 62924-0179.

should be reprinted here. Sonn's article is also noteworthy since it bridges the gap between history and practice, pointing to successful strategies of opposition which, in my opinion, remain viable.

Apart from this, artists are not neglected. There are interviews, poetry, stories and artist's statements by, among others, Mary Conte, André Breton, Freddie Baer, James Koehline, and Gary Snyder. Illustrations and photos are numerous. In addition I should mention that the issue is a kind of commemoration: Max Blechman's interview with anarchist musician John Cage took place just prior to Cage's death in 1992 and recently deceased anarchist historian George Woodcock's articles ("Herbert Read: Contradictions and Consistences"/"Skoal to **Drunken Boat**"), to the best of

**FREE DISCOUNT COUNTERCULTURE CATALOG!** Amaze your friends with underground books, music, cult videos, comix and zines from the **ESSENTIAL MEDIA** Catalog and Guide to the best of alternative culture. Our full catalog is just \$2 or get the mini version for FREE. Available at <http://www.essentialmedia.com/or> write to Essential Media-APR, Box 661245, L.A., CA 90066-1245.

**CRITICALLY ACCLAIMED! THE SILICON VALLEY REVIEW.** \$2 TO: GENE MAHONEY, BOX 843, RWC, CA 94064.

**Save the ideas!** Without independent sources of ideas and discussion, democracy can't thrive. The Independent Press Association works to nurture and encourage independent publications committed to a free press, social justice, and a diversity of voices on the newsstand. To learn more, write to IPA, POB 191785, San Francisco, CA 94119-1785 or call (415) 896-2456. On-line: [www.indypress.org](http://www.indypress.org) or [indypress@indypress.org](mailto:indypress@indypress.org).

**THE REVOLUTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE** is the explosive situationist book by Raoul Vaneigem which rocked the world in 1968. \$16 + \$2 p&h = \$18.00 from C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446.

**FUTURE PRIMITIVE AND OTHER ESSAYS** is the latest book by John Zerzan. This book doesn't just

"question authority," it demolishes it. \$6.95 + \$2.05 p&h = \$9.00 total from C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446.

**ELEMENTS OF REFUSAL** is the new, second edition of John Zerzan's seminal selection of radical essays exploring the origins of alienation and the vagaries of resistance. Available in March, 1999 for \$14.95 + \$2.05 p&h = \$17.00 total from C.A.L. Press.

**ANARCHY: A JOURNAL OF DESIRE ARMED** is a 84-page magazine critical of all ideologies, including anarchism. Sample copy: \$6. (for 1st class add \$1) now available once again from C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446. Full Sets of back issues still in print (#8 thru #45) are available as well at \$60 for the set.

**ANARCHY AFTER LEFTISM**, Bob Black's entertaining critique of Murray Bookchin's anarcho-leftist Social Ecology, is available from C.A.L. Press, available for \$10 postpaid to C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446

Advertise in **APR's** unclassified section for 40¢ per word, with a minimum of 15 words. 10% off for running three consecutive ads. Payment must be in advance only, sent to: **A.A.L. Press, POB 4710, Arlington, VA. 22204-4710.** (PO box numbers, telephone numbers, states, & zip + 4 codes all count as only one word each.)

my knowledge, are the last writings by Woodcock to appear in an anarchist journal. Is **Drunken Boat #2** worth having? It most definitely is.

-Allan Antliff

### Half a Revolution

*Half a Revolution: Contemporary Fiction by Russian Women* edited by Masha Gessen (Cleis Press, POB 8933, Pittsburgh, PA 15221, 1995) 269pp. \$12.95 paper.

The first collection of new women's fiction to appear in English translation since the end of the Soviet Union, *Half a Revolution* is a pathbreaking book giving an international voice to writers who heretofore have hardly had a voice even in Russia. Portraits of life where the quest for an



## REVIEWS

### Alternative Press Books

apartment can be a driving force in peoples' lives, where lesbianism is almost unmentionable, where people complain but ultimately bow to bureaucratic decisions, where husbands are all too frequently abusive, and where people have to try to make sense of events in a changing world lurching in no clear direction. -J.M.

#### Return of the Tribal

*Return of the Tribal: A Celebration of Body Adornment* Rufus C. Camphausen (Park Street Press, Inner Traditions International, One Park St., Rochester, VT 05767, 1997) 128pp. [8"x10" format] \$19.95 paper.

For better or worse, body adornment is no longer limited to pierced ears, dyed hair, lipstick, dentures & plastic surgery, even in small town, USA. In a world in which bureaucracy and commodity-exchange have wiped out much of the personal and social meaning from life, the allure of tribal community is reasserting itself.

*The Return of the Tribal* is the first book I've seen which attempts to look at all types of body adornment, from tribal to urban, from piercing to body painting, from scarification to tattoos, and from genital mutilation to structural modifications of the ears, legs & neck. And it does so with a cornucopia of full-color photos presented alongside a very readable text. This may well be the best book of its kind currently available.

Above all, *The Return of the Tribal* emphasizes a call for tolerance, as the author restates in his conclusion titled "The Irrational Temptation of Passing Judgment": "What we all need in order to live together on this small planet, and what we need to express, is something as seemingly simple as respect: respect for each other's tastes, choices, wants and needs. This includes respect for each other's visions of beauty, each other's ways to be sexually active, and each other's manners of body adornment, whether invisible or visible." -J.M.

#### Sirens

*Sirens: Symbols of Seduction* by Meri Lao (Park Street Press, Inner Traditions International, One Park St., Rochester, VT 05767, 1998) 186pp. \$40.00 hardcover.

*Sirens: Symbols of Seduction* is a new translation from the Italian of Meri Lao's well-crafted celebration of the seductive allure of sirens and mermaids. Beginning with the famous evasion of the Sirens' lure

by Ulysses and his ship's crew in *The Odyssey*, Lao conducts a detailed historical tour of the subject through literature, art and science (Caimans, Manatees, Dugongs, etc.) up through the present day, including recent mermaid films, ads and toys. She even includes a quotation from an unimpressed Christopher Columbus' sighting from the Nina on his return voyage from the "New World" to Spain in 1493, in which the ship's log notes that "they were not as beautiful as

**Ultimately, Lao reveals that the seductive power of the sirens, which once lay in their subversiveness, has now been captured by a mass culture enchanting us in the service of commerce, and by the mechanical voices which warn us of ever recurrent disasters.**

they are described as being." Ultimately, Lao reveals that the seductive power of the sirens, which once lay in their subversiveness, has now been captured by a mass culture enchanting us in the service of commerce, and by the mechanical voices which warn us of ever recurrent disasters.

-J.M.

#### Short Reviews

*The I Ching of Management* by William E. Sadler (Humanics Trade, 1482 Mecaslin St. NW, Atlanta, GA 30309, 1996) 148pp. \$16.95 paper.

In the last decade the debasement of Eastern philosophical and religious traditions through the marketing of "management" self-help and how-to books has become a North American industry unto itself. *The I Ching of Management* is a transparent attempt to cash in on a lucrative publishing genre whose popularity has proven surprisingly durable despite its descent into near self-parody. Serious readers would, of course, be better off simply consulting one of the better translations of the original *I Ching* or the *Tao Te Ching*. -J.M.

*The Magic of Zen* by Inez D. Stein (Humanics Trade, 1482 Mecaslin St. NW, Atlanta, GA 30309, 1996) 154pp. \$16.95 paper.

This is a sort of pidgin introduction to Zen and magic which will likely seriously confuse rather than enlighten those unfamiliar with authentic Buddhist and magical traditions. It's greatly overpriced considering the thin and rather superficial content, but that probably won't hurt sales! -J.M.

*All the Rules have Changed* by Ted Rall (Rip Off Press, POB 4686, Auburn, CA 95604, 1995) 96pp. \$10.95 8½"x11 paper.

If you've paid attention to the last couple issues of this magazine you've undoubtedly noticed that some of the best comics come from the pen of Ted Rall. When he sent me the comics I've been running lately, he also sent me a copy of his second book, *All the Rules have Changed*. It's my loss that I didn't get around to reading and reviewing it until now. This is a great collection of stuff—from cynical to radical, from witty to nasty, but all coming down hard on corporate America and the layers of illusion it promotes and sells as reality. Rall's is a topsy turvy world in the worthy tradition of the Ranters, antinomians and Luddites of other eras. Check out some more of his work appearing in this issue of *Alternative Press Review* and see if you don't agree! -J.M.

*Less Les for a Quidnunc* by Sam Bowne (Brunswick Publishing Corp., POB 555, Lawrenceville, VA 23868) 152pp. \$8.00 paper (+ \$4.50 shipping).

This mystery novel is a bit amateurish in its narrative and unsurprising in conception, but can be an enjoyable read nonetheless. Because both the amateur "detective" in the story as well as the author of the novel are retired, older readers may tend to get more out of this book, while younger ones may be likely to find it rather staid and very possibly boring. -J.M.

*The B² Generation* by Robert Townsend (Pfeiffer & Co., 8517 Production Avenue, San Diego, CA 92121-2280, 1994) 192pp. \$16.95 hardcover.

Robert Townsend, author of past *NY Times* "bestseller" *Up The Organization* (and past corporate head of American Express and Avis) is back with a manual for "saving the next generation" which he designates as the "Beavis & Butt-Head generation." With a combination of simplistic organizational & motivational theory along with a dash of Eastern philosophy and a fictional video game, Townsend thinks he can influence kids to find a way to comfortably fit into the contemporary social debacle of corporate downsizing & unemployment, massive alienation from mainstream institutions, and ever-increasing levels of political & cultural attacks on workers, the poor & the homeless. He hasn't got a clue that capitalism includes both the opportunities he lauds for the few and, more importantly, closed doors and locked cells for the many. -J.M.



Culture ♦ Community ♦ Critique ♦ Ecology ♦ Sexuality ♦ Humor

## Alternative Press Review

# YOUR GUIDE BEYOND THE MAINSTREAM

*Don't miss future issues!*

The **Alternative Press Review** can be *your* window on the world of independent media. **APR** publishes a wide variety of the best essays from radical zines, tabloids, books and magazines—essays that deserve a much wider readership than they currently enjoy. Plus, **APR** publishes a selection of short and lively article excerpts in each issue, along with reviews, commentary and columns on the alternative press scene and other alternative media.

**Special Offer:** Subscribe now for \$16/year (four issues). Or subscribe for two years at \$32 *and* receive a free copy of John Zerzan's *Future Primitive*, or a free copy of *I, Claudia: Feminism Unveiled* by Claudia! (Don't miss the excerpts in past **APR** issues from Claudia's *The Rebel's New Clothes*.)



### Alternative Press Review Subscription

- ☐ Send me a 1 year subscription for \$16. Add \$6 for first class delivery.
- ☐ Send me a 2 year subscription for \$32 along with a free copy of *Future Primitive* or *I, Claudia* (circle one). Add \$12 for 1st class.
- ☐ Send me a 1 year international subscription for \$24 by surface mail. Add \$8 for airmail delivery.
- ☐ Send me a 2 year international subscription for \$48 along with a free copy of *Future Primitive* or *I, Claudia* (circle one). For airmail add \$16.

- ☐ Send \$6 for 1 back issue, \$10 for 2, & \$3 each for additional ones: Vol.1, #1 #2 #3 #4 Vol.2, #1 #2 #3 #4 Vol.3, #1 #2 (circle choices). Airmail is \$2 extra for each issue ordered.

Make your check or money order to: **A.A.L.** and send it to: **A.A.L. Press, POB 4710, Arlington, VA. 22204-4710, U.S.A.**

(All subscriptions are in US dollars; checks or money orders in other currencies must add the equivalent to US \$15 for conversion.) Allow one to three months for regular delivery; allow one to three weeks for first class or airmail delivery. Subscriptions are unconditionally guaranteed. If you are not completely satisfied, the remainder of your subscription will be refunded.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_  
Country (for International Subscriptions) \_\_\_\_\_

APR#10





**Jubilee Garden #5:** Collage by James Koehnline